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NARRATIVE STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERS IN THE NANZI STORIES OF CURAÇAO: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics

by
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B.A., University of New Orleans, 1990
M.A., University of New Orleans, 1994
May 2000

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DEDICATION

To my mother and in the loving memory of my father. Their love and belief in me have supported me during my entire life, and especially during the course of my academic pursuits. While living in another part of the world, my mother's words of encouragement were very valuable for me, and I never forgot the words that my father always repeated: *Nil desperandum* (Never lose your courage).

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him I could never have fulfilled my dream of becoming a student and reaching my goal of obtaining my doctorate.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation develops a new approach to the analysis of narratives by combining various approaches to both narrative structure and character analysis. Through the in-depth analysis of two stories from a collection of 32 Nanzi stories (from Curaçao), which are spider/trickster stories in Papiamentu, I reveal the mechanisms by which the stories are constructed. Analysis of narrative elements in the other 30 stories reconfirms that all the Nanzi stories have the same basic pattern of narrative structure. My method for determining this structure departs from other approaches to narrative analysis that exclusively divide narratives into larger discourse units, which are 1) episodes, introduced by discourse markers, and organized as macro-propositions under a macro-structure (Van Dijk 1982; 1992); 2) different sections (six), based on narrative and free clauses (Labov 1972). I take the further step of combining these two approaches with theories that consider major events as basic elements in a narrative (Barthes 1975; Chatman 1978). Because events are caused by characters, the analysis of narrative structure includes the analysis of characters, although this area has been consistently ignored. By applying several theories of character analysis to one of my sample stories: Hasan's -er/-ed roles (1989), combined with Halliday's process analysis (1997); narration and focalization (Bal 1991); interrelationship between characters (King 1992), I demonstrate 1) how an all-round image of human-like characters is created in the Nanzi story; and, 2) why the characters in the Nanzi story convey such a vivid impression to the reader. The method that I develop to analyze narrative structure and characters in the Nanzi stories can also be applied to other narratives.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 On Storytelling and Spider Stories

Storytelling is an old and important tradition. "... all classes, all human groups, have their stories, and very often those stories are enjoyed by men of different and even opposite cultural background..." (Barthes 1975:237). Stories have been told by humankind through the centuries; they were transmitted orally from generation to generation. In Africa, in the middle of the nineteenth century, missionaries, ethnographers, linguists and government officials began to collect stories and write them down and therefore many stories told at that time have survived until the present day (Abrahams 1983; Finnegan 1970; Klipple 1992). Storytelling is also a strong African tradition, and many of the stories collected 150 years ago continue to be told today. The telling of a story mostly forms part of a larger performance, in which singing, dancing and drumming are important elements. Stories are told at nightfall among the family around the fire, or during social gatherings, such as wakes. They deal with village life, personal issues, moral issues, or they describe great deeds. Storytellers also tell fantastic stories, talk about the land of the dead, and narrate stories about twins and orphans (Abrahams 1983; Berry 1991; Klipple 1992). Older generations tell stories to the younger generations to amuse them, but also to transmit the wisdom of the ancestors. Stories often end with a message because they are meant to instruct the people of the community how to behave correctly. One of this type of stories that is primarily meant to entertain is the story of the trickster with his antisocial behavior, as I will discuss later in this chapter. Many tricksters are small animals who trick their larger adversaries; for

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example, they eat their opponent's food, or cause the punishment of another animal although the trickster is the mischievous party, or they cheat other animals in a race (Finnegan 1970).

A large number of stories were brought to the New World from Africa by the slaves (Abrahams 1985). Storytelling was an important element on the slave plantations, where stories were also told for entertainment and instruction. Young and old people forgot the harsh working conditions of the daytime by participating in story telling in the African style, i.e. by singing, dancing and laughing. At the same time stories were taken seriously, because they could be related to troublesome situations in the community. They were narrated in order to provoke discussion about current issues. Therefore, stories or even scandal songs or plays were often "roundabout techniques" for the discussion of the behavior of some person in the community without mentioning his or her name (Abrahams 1985:9). As a reaction, another story was presented by the indirectly accused party. Also, in the Afro-American societies in the New World, tales were not only meant as a message of how to behave correctly, but they also taught how to use wit and wariness when dealing with the world of the powerful white minority (Abrahams 1985).

Many stories told in Africa and the New world African diaspora are animal stories, and in a large number of those stories, the main character is a male spider with human characteristics. Spider stories of this type can be found in many countries. So far I have found spider stories or mention of a trickster spider in Angola, Aruba, Cuba, Curaçao, Ghana, Guyana, Jamaica, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, St. Vincent, Surinam, Sudan,

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Tobago and Togo. The origin of the spider stories lies among the Akan-Ashanti in Ghana, where the stories are called Anansesem, or spider stories, even if the spider does not appear in the stories (Baart 1983; Rattray 1969). The Ashanti call the spider Ananse or Kwaku Ananse; the spider is called Ture among the Azande in Sudan. Some of the names used in other countries are: Anansi, Braha Nanzi, Buh Nansi, Compé/Kompa Nanzi, Nancy, Nansi. Ashanti tradition states that originally the spider stories were not called Anansesem, but that they were named after the Sky God, Nyame, or Nyankupon (Baart 1983:Vecsey 1993). Nanzi, however, wanted to purchase the stories from Nyame so that Nanzi's deeds would be the core of the stories. In exchange for the stories, Nyame ordered Nanzi to bring him several animals (different animals are requested in different stories). Nanzi performs this task by capturing the animals through trickery. As a consequence, the stories are now called spider stories. The trickster spider is cunning (Baart 1983), wily (Finnegan 1970), creative and funny (Pelton 1980), but also selfish, vindictive and cruel (Berry 1991), boastful (Cardinal 1970), deceitful (Jablow 1961), and malignant (Werner 1968). He obtains his goal by tricking his adversaries (Baart 1983). A variant of the story is told among the Limba-rice farmers in Sierra Leone, where "the spider tricks his wife but she is always cleverer than he is" (Finnegan 1967:291).

Because the spider often tricks his opponent, these stories form part of the tradition of trickster stories, which are the most common type of African tales (Abrahams 1985). However, not only in Africa, but in many societies elsewhere in the world, the trickster appears as the cultural hero. Therefore, some scholars, such as Pelton (1980) and Babcock-Abrahams (1975), believe that the trickster figure is universal and advocates

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the same message; however, other scholars, such as Evans-Pritchard (1967), argue that each society has its own trickster and therefore its own culture specific message (in Hynes and Doty 1993). The trickster's messages amuse his hearers or readers and make them laugh, but at the same time, the trickster also instructs (Hynes and Doty 1993). He breaks the societal rules but by doing this the trickster also confirms the limits of those rules (Vecsey 1993). The trickster appears in many forms, as animal that acts as a human, such as a Blue Jay, Coyote, Fox, Hare, Raven, Spider, Tortoise (Animal-Persons); and as a human, such as Anti-Hero, Culture Hero, Old Man, Selfish Deceiver, or Swindler (Doty and Hynes 1993). In North America the trickster appears as "Brer Rabbit" in the Uncle Remus stories, and some Native American groups identify rabbit as the trickster also (Harris 1981). In Louisiana, in Pointe Coupee Parish, Comrade Lapin is the trickster who outwits his adversary old Bouqui.

In the following section I will discuss some trickster stories in the Caribbean.

1.2 The Nanzi Stories of Curaçao: Spider/Trickster Stories in Papiamentu

One of the places where spider stories appear is Curaçao, an island in the Caribbean. The spider in the stories from Curaçao is called Nanzi, so through the name this trickster is clearly connected to Africa. As in the African stories, Nanzi is a male spider with human characteristics. He is extremely cunning and often has an uncontrollable desire for food. Nanzi has no respect for anyone or anything. In order to obtain his goal, Nanzi tricks his enemy, who often dies at the end of the story (Baart 1983). Thus Nanzi is antisocial and mean, but in spite of this, the stories are always considered amusing.

The other characters in the stories are also animals, such as Cha Tiger, the tiger, who is Nanzi's opponent in several stories, Koma Baka, the cow, or Kompa Makaku, the

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monkey, Kompa Sese, the cricket, Koma Turtuga, the turtle. Also humans, such as Shon Arei, the King, and his soldiers, appear in the Nanzi stories. People are referred to as "the people" or "the animals." The titles given to the animals have meaning: Koma is derived from "comader" or godmother; Kompa is "compader," or godfather, but it also means comrade, mate. Shon signifies Mister; Cha means boss, friend, mister (Baart 1983:154). Nanzi is also called Braha Nanzi (story 30: Braha Nanzi and Braha Tukema, and in story 31: Braha Nanzi and Braha Tukema with the dead woman). Braha is probably derived from "brother" (Baart 1983:156). The wife of Nanzi appears mostly as Shi Maria, but no definite explanation for the title of Shi exists (Baart 1983). Several mysterious powers also emerge among the characters, for example Tiraleu who is hidden in a tree and who grabs Nanzi's hand and throws him in the air (story 3: Compa Nanzi and Compa Throwfar). Tiraleu's physical appearance, however, is never mentioned in the text. Another magical power is that of Temekú Temebè, described as a man with the power of the devil (story 10: Cha Nanzi and Temekù Temebè). Nanzi has to carry Temekú Temebè on his shoulder. Some tales include magic objects, such as a pot which produces food; another object is a magic whip. Both objects appear in Nanzi story 28 (see below). Berry (1991) mentions that those same magic objects appear in many West African tales.

A comparison between Nanzi's characteristics and general trickster traits, as proposed by Hynes (1993), indicates that Nanzi shares many characteristics with other tricksters: 1) A trickster generally has an ambiguous and anomalous personality, crossing borders imposed by society and therefore being an "out person" (Hynes 1993:34). For

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example, Nanzi is so selfish that in many occasions, he does not even share his food with the other family members, and he actually kills other animals of his community in order to obtain food. However, the members of Nanzi's community accept him as one of them and some of the members still trust Nanzi. 2) A trickster is also a deceiver/trick-player. Nanzi repeatedly plays tricks in order to obtain his goals, and he often tricks other by using persuasion. 3) A trickster is a shape-shifter. Nanzi, however, does not change his physical appearance, but he dresses in his wedding suit in several stories, and he even wears the clothes of a young child. 4) The trickster is a situation-invertor. The trickster is able to turn everything inside out. He changes good into bad and bad into good. In many of the Nanzi stories, the problem at the beginning of the story, such as hunger, is resolved at the end of the story because of Nanzi's trickery. 5) The trickster is a messenger and imitator of the Gods. The Nanzi stories do not deal with deities. However in several stories, magical power is used, as I mentioned before. 6) A trickster is a sacred and lewd bricoleur. The trickster changes the sacred into the profane. For example, "the Chippewa trickster, Wenebojo, transforms his intestines into sweet food for his aunt" (Hynes 1993:42). Nanzi does not participate in these kind of actions, but he does have an uncontrollable desire to obtain food, which, as Hynes (1993) mentions, is a typical trickster trait. For most tricksters, the search for food is more enjoyable than the moment when the food is actually obtained. Nanzi stories, on the contrary always narrate how Nanzi savors his food.

In the past, the Nanzi stories were orally transmitted at night in the home, or on special occasions, such as prayer meetings and wakes. The storyteller used a technique

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which often occurs in oral literature, i.e. repetition. In the oral Nanzi stories, the beginning of each sentence repeated the last words of the previous sentence, which maintains the tension in the story (Ecury 1992). In the written versions of the stories, however, this technique does not appear, although repetition of sentences does occur. It is not uncommon for oral narrative features to be omitted when stories are written. Features such as repetition are not aesthetically valued by Western culture, and so are often eliminated when they are written and translated for Western consumption (Ong 1982).

Several Nanzi stories can be related to different versions of stories in other cultures. Two versions of the same story, however, are never the same because, as Finnegan (1970) states, the sequence of episodes may be different, new elements may be introduced depending on the environment in which the story is told, and even the contents can be changed to such a degree that the version is difficult to recognize. Thus, there is no definitive version. For example, the first Nanzi story in the collection used for this study is easily recognized as the tar-baby story, which is also found in the Brer Rabbit stories (Harris 1981), and in Mayan folktales (Brody 1986). When Nanzi tries to steal fruits from the garden of Shon Arei, he suddenly sees a man standing in the garden. The man does not respond to Nanzi's speech, nor does he move. As it appears later, the man is a doll covered with tar. After Nanzi kicks the doll, he remains glued to the doll's body. Nanzi is thrown into jail for stealing the fruits. However, he escapes his punishment by tricking Shon Arei. This motif of the tar-baby has been studied in 152 versions, from cultures all over the world, by Aurelio M. Espinosa who published his

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study in 1930 (in Baart 1983). In the Caribbean, the tar-baby story also appears on St. Vincent (Abrahams 1985).

Another Nanzi story (nr. 2: Compa Nanzi and Cha Tiger) is the tale where Nanzi tricks the tiger so that he can ride him as a horse. The same tale appears also in Jamaica (Abrahams 1985). In another Nanzi story (nr. 4: How Cha Tiger fooled Nanzi), the tiger and Nanzi make an agreement. Cha Tiger plays dead in order to catch and kill the animals who come to bid their last farewell. In the St. Vincent version, Anansi misleads the other animals by playing dead himself and his wife is the one who kills the visitors (Abrahams 1985).

In one of the other Nanzi stories (nr. 28: How spiders were born in Curaçao), Nanzi finds a cooking pot. This pot always provides food when Nanzi calls its name, Yena Tur (Fill up). However, Nanzi does not share this secret with his family. As a result, he grows heavier and his family becomes thinner. Nanzi's wife discovers the pot and the entire family enjoys a good meal. However, when Shi Maria cleans the pot, no food appears anymore. Nanzi is furious and goes to the woods, where he finds a magical stick. At home Nanzi locks his family in a room and tells the stick to beat them. Everybody screams, but suddenly it is quiet. When Nanzi opens the door, he finds a spider with nine little spiders at the ceiling. This story is very similar to an African story told in the Gold Coast, called "Thunder and Anansi" (Barker and Sinclair 1972). In the African story, Nanzi receives the pot from Thunder, who lives at the bottom of the sea. The pot however, melts from overworking, because the whole village receives a meal. Nanzi also obtains a magical stick from Thunder, but this stick beats Nanzi.

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In this section I discussed the Nanzi stories as spider and trickster stories. I also mentioned how the Nanzi stories can be related to other stories in the Caribbean and to African stories. In the following section, I will discuss the history of Papiamentu, the language in which the stories are written and the role Papiamentu plays in the present time.

1.2.1 Papiamentu: Past and Present

The Nanzi stories are written in Papiamentu, a Spanish/Portuguese based creole, spoken in the Caribbean by about 200.000 people in Curaçao, and Bonaire, islands of the Netherlands Antilles, and in Aruba, which has held an independent status in the Kingdom of the Netherlands since 1986 (Dijkhoff 1993). The word Papiamentu is based on the old Spanish or Portuguese verb "papear" which means "to babble, chatter incomprehensibly" (Birmingham 1970:IX; Maduro 1966:15; Munteanu 1996:31). Papiamentu is the only creole language of Spanish/Portuguese origin in the Caribbean (DeCamp 1981:18).

Curaçao, the largest of the three islands, has a complex history. In 1499 Alonso de Ojeda discovered the island and Spanish colonizers established themselves on Curaçao in 1527. When the Dutch occupied the island in 1634, the Spaniards and most of the native occupants left or died (Holm 1989:313; Wood 1970:7). The rule of the Dutch was interrupted for a short period of time by the French and the English between 1795 and 1802 (Munteanu 1996:42; Zamora Vicente:1979). The first settlers after 1634 were Dutch protestants and two Jewish groups. The first group consisted of Jews who had fled Spain and Portugal and established themselves in the Netherlands. Another group were Jewish allies of the Dutch in Brazil, when the Dutch occupied part of that country

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from 1624-1654. The period of 1650-1750 was important for the formation of Papiamentu because Curaçao was an entrepot for the African slave trade, which carried slaves from the West Coast of Africa to the West Indies and South America (Holm 1989; Munteanu 1996; Wood 1970). From Curaçao, Papiamentu spread to Bonaire around 1700 and, at the end of the 18th century to Aruba (Holm 1988; Munteanu 1996).

Because of the history of the islands, scholars hold a variety of different opinions about the origin of the Papiamentu creole, especially because the first document in Papiamentu dates only from 1775 (Munteanu 1996). It contains a fragment of a letter by a Jew to his mistress. Another document, written in Papiamentu in 1776, is also preserved. Other older texts date from the 1830's. Some scholars, such as Van Wijk (1958), and Wood (1972), support the theory that Papiamentu found its origin in the Portuguese Pidgin which was used in the slave trade in the beginning of the 16th century (in Munteanu 1996; see also Birmingham 1970; Decamp 1981; Zamora Vicente 1979). Among Papiamentu speakers, Frank Martinus also defends this theory (personal communication). A pidgin is a language which is used "as a means of communication among people who do not share a common language" (Muysken and Smith 1995:3). A pidgin language does not have native speakers, whereas creole languages do have them. Holm (1988:6) states that a creole is a language "spoken natively by an entire speech community" (1988:6), but as Muysken and Smith (1995) mention, among creolists there is disagreement about the definition of the terms pidgin and creole. Some scholars thus believe a Portuguese Pidgin to be the source for Papiamentu. The languages of the Sephardim (Portuguese, Spanish, Judeo-Portuguese, Judeo-Spanish or Galician) played

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an important role in the slave trade on Curaçao (Holm 1989). Their descendents spoke Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English and Papiamentu and occupied important government positions at the end of the 19th century (Munteanu 1996). Portuguese was spoken in the Sephardim sinagogue in Curaçao until 1865. Other scholars, however, such as Maduro (1967), Rona (1971), and Munteanu (1996) consider Papiamentu a Spanish based creole (in Munteanu 1996; see also Dijkhoff 1993). Spanish influenced the developing creole because Spanish-speaking people came to the island to purchase slaves. From examining the language, however, it is evident that not only Spanish and Portuguese were involved, but also that Dutch played an important role in the formation of the Papiamentu language. In addition to these three base languages, English vocabulary, Amerindian, and African influences can also be found in Papiamentu (Holm, 1989; Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995; Munteanu 1996).

Several studies have been dedicated to Papiamentu, of which Lenz' (1928) lexical study of Papiamentu was among the first. Other early studies are concerned with phonology (Harris 1951); the consonant and vowel system, and historical grammar (Birmingham 1970); and the influence of Dutch phonology in Papiamentu (Wood 1970). Among most recent linguistic studies dedicated to Papiamentu are investigations of syntax (Muller 1989); word formation (Dijkhoff 1993); phonology, morphology and syntax (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994); and investigation of the origin of Papiamentu, including a comparative study of the characteristics of Papiamentu and early Spanish (Munteanu 1996).

Several superstrate languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, as well as indeterminate substrate African languages participated in the

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creolization process of Papiamentu. Influences of these languages can be seen in the Papiamentu phonology, syntax, morphology and lexicon. Because a discussion of the entire linguistic system of Papiamentu is not within the scope of the present study, I will mention only a few of the specific features of each system as they are presented in some previous linguistic studies.

Phonology

Papiamentu had originally a five vowel system, identical to the Spanish system (Birmingham 1970; Holm 1988; Munteanu 1996). Gradually, however, the Papiamentu system developed into a nine vowel system, with the additional phoneme /ə/ occurring in unstressed syllables. Table 1.1. represent the present Papiamentu vowel system.

Table 1.1 Vowel Phonemes in Papiamentu

	Front		Central	Back rounded
	unrounded	rounded		
High	i	ü		u
Mid	e		ö ə	o
	ɛ			ɔ
Low			a	

The phonemes /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ö/ and /ə/ had their origin in the Dutch, and/or English and French system. Orthographically they are represented by *è*, *ò*, *ù* and *e* in Papiamentu. Some vowels, such as /ɔ/ were introduced at an early stage of creolization under influence of Dutch (Wood 1970). The phoneme /ü/, which also appears in the Dutch phonological system, became part of the Papiamentu system at a later stage (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994; Wood 1970). The use of the phonemes /ü/, /ö/ and /ə/ was later reinforced by French and English, whose vowel systems contained the same sounds.

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The Papiamentu vowel system also contains 21 diphthongs, such as in: /brew/ *breu* 'tar', and five triphthongs, as in /bjeu/ *bieu* 'old' (Birmingham 1970; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994, Munteanu 1996; Wood 1970).

Vowels are nasalized in a greater or lesser degree before syllable- and word-final /n/. In word-final position, the /n/ velarizes, except in words ending in [ən], e.g., Pap. /rumãŋ/ *ruman* 'brother' (Birmingham 1970:34). Velarization of /n/ also typically occurs before the velars /g/ and /k/, e.g., [kãŋgréw] *kangreu* 'crab' (Harris 1951:7)

Scholars do not agree on the number of consonants in Papiamentu. Some authors, such as Munteanu (1996:227) and Wood (1970:24) have the opinion that the Papiamentu consonant system contains 21 consonants, whereas Harris (1951), and Kouwenberg and Murray (1994) present 23 consonants in their works. Combining the works of Kowenberg and Murray, Munteanu and Wood, the following table gives a general overview of the consonant phonemes in Papiamentu:

Table 1.2 Consonant Phonemes in Papiamentu

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
stops	p b	t d	ʧ ʤ	k g	
fricative	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	x	h
nasals	m	n	ɲ		
liquids		l r			
semivowel	w		j		

The palatal stops and fricatives occur in words, such as *chiste* 'joke'; *djaka* 'rat'; *shimis* 'dress', and *zjeitu* 'spirit' (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:10).

The consonant system of Papiamentu was mostly influenced by the system of Iberian languages (Munteanu 1996). Several consonants, i.e. /v/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʤ/, which do not exist

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anymore in modern Spanish do appear, however, in Papiamentu. They occurred in dialectal varieties of Spanish which were brough to the New World. The consonant /ʒ/ which also appears in Papiamentu, only occurs in Argentina, Uruguay and Ecuador (Munteanu 1996:237).

The use of the phonemes /v/ and /z/ occurred in dialectal varieties of Spanish and were reinforced by contacts with Dutch and Judeo-español speakers and in a later period by contacts with French and English speakers (Munteau 1996:230-233). The consonant /ʃ/ existed already in Judeo-español (Munteanu 1996 230-235).

Dutch loanwords introduced into the Spanish language contributed to the consolidation of the palatal affricate /ʤ/ in the Papiamentu system. Later contact with English could have reinforced its position (Birmingham 1970:10; Holm 1988:131; Munteanu 1996:239). The palatal fricative /ʒ/ was introduced by loanwords from Dutch and Portuguese. At a later stage French could have influenced its position in the phonological system (Munteanu 1996:237).

Another consonant, the glottal fricative /h/, occurred as an aspirated allophone [h] of the phoneme /x/ in several Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Columbia, Peru. Contacts with Dutch, which has /h/ as a phoneme in its consonant system, could have influenced the stabilization of this sound (Munteanu 1996:238).

Several phenomena generally attributed to creoles, are also noticeable in Papiamentu, such as epenthesis, i.e., the addition of vowels in the middle of a word, and paragogue, the addition of a vowel sound word finally (Holm 1988). Epenthesis occurs in words of Spanish origin, e.g., Sp. colgar > Pap. *kologá* 'hang', and in words of Dutch origin, e.g.,

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Du. knoop > Pap. *kònòpi* 'button'. Paragogue appears in, e.g., Sp. sol > Pap. *solo* 'sun' (Munteanu 1996:217; Wood 1970:35). These phonological processes favor breaking up certain consonant clusters and avoiding consonants in word-final position.

Another frequent phenomenon is the omission of vowels in words of Spanish or Dutch origin. Vowels are omitted in word initial position (apheresis), as in Sp. "avisar" > Pap. *bisa* 'say' (Birmingham 1970:30); in medial position (syncope), as in Sp. "caminar" > Pap. *kamna* 'walk', and in Dutch "kommetje" > Pap. *kòmchi* 'bowl'; and in final position (apocope), as in Sp. "sombrero" > Pap. *sombré* 'hat' (Munteanu 1996:216). This phenomenon results in consonant-initial syllables and creates particular word-internal consonant clusters. Note that the syncope never involves tonic syllables.

Papiamentu shows an extensive number of onset and coda clusters. The onset clusters seem mostly influenced by Iberian languages and Dutch, whereas the coda clusters seem to appear in words of Dutch and/or English origin. Onset clusters may contain as many as three consonants, and appear in words, such as *splika* 'explain', and *skref* 'notebook'. Codas consist of a single consonant or a CC cluster, as in *kaft* 'bookcover' and *valf* 'valve' (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:11).

Papiamentu is considered to be a tone language. African substrate languages (not specified by authors who discuss the system and, due to lack of historical data, perhaps unknowable) influenced the appearance of tones in the language. Because of the complexity of the tonal system of Papiamentu, few researchers have dedicated their investigations to this field (Munteanu 1996). Römer (1991) is a detailed analysis of the tonal system in Papiamentu.

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Syntax

Papiamentu shares its word order SVO with the other Atlantic creoles. This is the word order which is also most often used in the superstrate and substrate languages.

Papiamentu does not distinguish grammatical gender (Holm 1988:195). There is only one form for the definite article, i.e., *e* 'the' and another single form for the indefinite article, i.e., *un* 'a' (Goilo 1972:14); there is no agreement between adjective and noun, and adjectives are most often derived from the masculine form of the adjective in the superstrate language, for example *un kas blanku* 'a white house' (Birmingham 1970:45; Holm 1988).

Nouns are not inflected for number (Goilo 1972; Holm 1988). The plural marker for definite nouns and noun phrases is the enclitic particle *nan* (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:19). *Nan* is also used as a third person plural pronoun. The use of the third person plural pronoun as plural marker occurs in most of the Atlantic creoles (Holm 1988:193).

Subject pronouns, direct and indirect pronouns, and possessive pronouns, are identical in form: singular: *mi* 'I', *bo* 'you', *e* 'he, she, it'; plural: *nos* 'we', *boso* 'you' (plural), *nan* 'they'. However, the third person singular possessive pronoun is: *su* 'his, her' and Curaçao uses *bu* instead of *bo* for the second person singular object pronoun form. Pronouns are based on the Iberian model (Birmingham 1970:60). However, the use of independent pronouns is obligatory. For example, * *ta kome* 'he is eating' is grammatically incorrect and should be *e ta kome* (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995:215).

Papiamentu has a feature which is unique among the creoles in the Caribbean, i.e. its passive construction. Two different auxiliaries occur in free variation: *ser* (Iberian

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influence) or *wordu* (Dutch influence), as in *Na mei e projekto a ser entregá* 'In May the project was handed in', and as in: *E pòtrèt aki a wordu saká dor di e mucha hòmber* 'This picture was taken by the boy' (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:211). The past participle follows the Iberian model, e.g., *morde* 'bite', *mordé* 'bitten', where stress is marked on the final vowel, or the Dutch model *fèrf* 'paint', *heferf* 'painted' (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:20).

Tense, mood and aspect are expressed in Papiamentu by preverbal particles (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995): *ta* (expressing the present, and the progressive; English 'is'), *tabata* (used for the imperfect, and the past; English 'was') *a* (used for the perfective past; English 'was' and 'has been'), and *lo* (indicating the future). The present tense marker *ta* as in *Mi ta come* 'I eat, I am eating' is also used as copula, e.g., *Mi ta na kas* 'I am in the house' and to express focalization, e.g., *Ta e buki m'a dunabu* (I gave you the **book**) (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 210-211).

Whereas English uses different tenses to express preterite, present perfect, and past perfect, Papiamentu uses the same morpheme, i.e., *a*. For example, *Mi a come* can be translated with 'I ate', 'I have eaten', and 'I had eaten' (Goilo 1972:86). The same occurs with the conditional, perfect future, and pluperfect future. Therefore, *Lo mi a come* can be translated into English with 'I should eat', I shall have eaten', and 'I should have eaten'.

Another feature which occurs frequently in Papiamentu is the serial verb construction, which is "a surface string of verb-like or verb phrase like items, consisting of at least two verbs, which occur within what appears to be a single clause, with no ascertainable

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clause boundary or conjunction between them" (Dijkhoff 1993:61). For example (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:47):

El a kore bai su kas.
3SG-Aspect run go 3SG-POSS house
'S/he ran home.'

Morphology

The gerundive participle is expressed by adding the suffix -ndo to the verb: *papyando* 'talking' and *mordiendo* 'biting', which is based on the Spanish form (Holm 1988:315; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:20). An older Papiamentu form, however, is also used, e.g., *E tabata papia* 'He was talking'.

Lexicon

The influence of the superstrate languages is manifest in the lexicon. In Ensayo pa vega na un ortografia uniformá pa nos papiamentu (1971, in Holm 1988) Maduro proposes that about two thirds of the Papiamentu lexicon is derived from Spanish and Portuguese. The remaining part is based on Dutch (25%), but includes also words from English, French and African languages. However, Wood in his article "The English loanwords in Papiamentu" (1971, in Dijkhoff 1993) proposes that Papiamentu borrowed 90% of its lexicon from Iberian languages, about 9% from Dutch and 1% from English.

Papiamentu uses reduplication, or "the repetition of a word (or part of a word) resulting in a distinct lexical item with a slightly different meaning" (Holm 1988:88). This phenomenon is common in the European based pidgins and creoles (Dijkhoff 1993). Some examples in Papiamentu are (Dijkhoff 1993:93-96): 1) *palu-palu* 'wood wood' > 'pure wood', where reduplication has "an intensifying function"; 2) *flor-flor* 'flower

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flower' > 'flowers', expressing plurality; 3) *tiki-tiki* 'little little' > 'little by little', indicating a progressively increasing amount.; 4) *korekore* 'run run' > 'commotion', (for example in riots), which expresses the result of the action of the verb kore. Reduplication has a "morphological function" in this case. The primary stress on this word is on the penultimate syllable, whereas in the other examples, both nouns or adjectives are stressed.

Curaçao and Aruba maintain a different orthographic spelling. Curaçao uses a spelling based on phonology, for example the [k] sound is orthographically represented as 'k', in *kas* 'house', *kuki* 'cookie' < from Dutch 'koekje', and *bèk* < from English 'back'. Aruba uses a spelling based on etymology, which means that the same words appear as *cas*, *kuki*, and *back* in Aruba (Dijkhoff 1993:6). Aruba also uses word final -o, where Curaçao favors final -u. Therefore, "Papiamentu" appears as "Papiamento" in Aruba. Bonaire adopted the same spelling as Curaçao (Munteanu 1996).

At the present time, Papiamentu is spoken in all social strata in the Netherlands Antilles, and Aruba, while Dutch remains the official language (Munteanu 1996). However, the attititude of many inhabitants of the islands towards Papiamentu, as their own mother tongue, is ambivalent. Papiamentu is an expression of their culture, whereas Dutch is the prevalent language of success in society (Van Putte 1999). In Curaçao and Bonaire, Papiamentu is an obligatory subject in primary education (Munteanu 1996). Frank Martinus founded a school in Curaçao where Papiamentu is the exclusive language of instruction. As the general case in other parts of the world where creoles and standards co-exist, many parents fear that instruction in Papiamentu presents an obstable for further studies where Dutch is the required language (Van Putte 1999).

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Curaçao published its first newspaper in English in 1812. Presently, ten newspapers are published in the island, of which six are in Papiamentu and four are in Dutch. Oral literature, such as children's songs and work songs, has a long tradition in the islands. As they traveled with the slaves, African stories were often adapted to the new local environment. Such was the case with the Nanzi stories (Munteanu 1996).

Another interesting story tradition in Curaçao is that of the so-called "banderitas", short poems with a satirical, ironic or even offensive tone, but some of them with a sentimental or romantic content (Munteanu 1996:49). They described events, mentioned a saying or a proverb and many times they were recited with music. Banderitas were typed or written by hand on a mostly colored piece of paper and glued to a small wooden stick. People bought them or received them free and carried them in their hats, sent them to friends, or put them at the entrance of their house. Munteanu does not mention when this tradition started. However, since 1940 the banderitas have practically disappeared. Munteanu suggests that banderitas may have their origin in the Spanish poetic tradition.

The tradition of the banderitas seems similar to the tradition of the "literatura de cordel," poems written by popular poets in Brazil (Slater 1982). These "folhetos" or pamphlets, as they were called before, are small booklets, with a pastel cover, which were suspended from a string. They contained 8, 16, 32 or 64 pages. Cordels made reference to events and religious topics, but also to romantic heroes/heroines. They were funny, and a few were obscene. Cordels were sold in markets and read by people of the lower classes, or the poet read the cordels to them. The majority of the cordel stories are identified with stories in the Iberian Peninsula. Slater suggests that cordel stories may have been influenced by akpalô, African narratives brought by slaves to Brazil.

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Although the tradition of the banderitas in Curaçao disappeared, the interest in the cordels was revived because Brazilian universities began to collect them and publish them in the last few decades. Similar traditions also appear as "decima" (ten-line stanza) in Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Cuba and Puerto Rico; as "copla," (couplet) "quintilla," (five-line stanza) and "sextina" in Mexico; as "Mediatuna" in Santo Domingo (Munteanu 1996:49-50); and, as "corrido" in Mexico, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile and Argentina (Slater 1982:3).

In the islands of the Netherlands Antilles, a literary tradition developed in the 19th century (Munteanu 1996). This tradition florished at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In the present time, authors who write in Papiamentu dedicate themselves more to poetry and narratives than to novels.

In this section I presented a short history of Curaçao, the biggest island of the Netherlands Antilles, and the development of Papiamentu on this island. I mentioned some of the linguistic studies on Papiamentu and discussed several characteristics of the language. I also considered the development of literature in Curaçao and compared some of it to similar traditions in other countries. In the following section, I will propose my approach to the analysis of a particular type of literature in Papiamentu, the Nanzi stories.

1.3 The Present Study

Nanzi stories form an integral part of the oral literature in Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire. That is why many inhabitants of those islands are familiar with the stories. Everyone who has lived on the islands for any period of time has heard stories about

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Nanzi, the tricky spider. In several parts of the world I have met people from Curaçao or Aruba, or people who had lived on the islands for several years. When asked if they were familiar with the Nanzi stories, they all smiled happily, and seemed to remember them very vividly, even after many years had passed since they listened to or read the stories. Van Dijk (1992) mentions, that people remember stories because they are hierarchically organized structures. As soon as a person begins to read a story or listen to a story, he attempts to construct a macro-proposition, that is, a topic, for a passage. Van Dijk (1982; 1992) proposes that narratives are divided into different sections, which he designates as episodes and which include one or several macro-propositions, which finally can be classified under a macro-structure which describes the entire episode. The backbone of each narrative is a narrative structure which comprises those organized sentences subsumed under the most general topic. The Nanzi stories are quite tightly structured, and I will clarify this structure below.

Readers or listeners not only remember the actions in a narrative, but they also notice the initiators of these actions, or the characters. People form an image of the characters in a narrative, based on the narrative text, and they compare the experiences of those characters with their own feelings and actions. Characters in the Nanzi stories are so vivid because they are presented in such a manner that the reader or listener feels involved in the world of the narrative. Also, the characters in the Nanzi stories act, feel and speak as human beings do, which make them very human-like. Nanzi himself, as a trickster, is highly memorable, not only for his unique individual traits, but also for his universal qualities. Trickster characters represent the power of the weak (De Certeau

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1988), where the underdog defeats the powerfull establishment. It is hardly surprising that this theme would appeal to slaves who were driven from their homeland by force.

Therefore, based on the above mentioned considerations I have two major goals in this study:

1. to reach a better understanding of the structure of narratives in general through the determination of narrative structure for the Nanzi stories of Curaçao, which is based on the analysis of the syntactic and semantic organization of one of those stories "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," and confirmed through comparison with the other stories of the collection. My analysis of narrative structure will include:

a) Determination of discourse markers in the narrative;

b) Division of narrative into episodes; analysis of the semantic content of each episode, organized as macro-structure and macro-propositions (following Van Dijk);

c) Determination of major events (Barthes, and Chatman);

d) Division of narrative into different sections (Labov).

2. to point out the importance of characters in a narrative, through the presentation of a fine-grained analysis of characters in the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." My character anlysis will include:

a) Isolation of every clause in the narrative;

b) Determination of process (action and participants involved in the action) expressed in each clause (Halliday/Hasan);

c) Traits of different characters deduced from narrative text (King)

d) Focalization, i.e. through whose eyes the characters are viewed (Bal).

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I will approach my analysis from a linguistic perspective and I will include points of view from discourse and sociolinguistic studies. Elements from narratology will also form part of my study.

1.3.1 Source for the Present Study

My analysis is based on Nanzi stories from Curaçao, which form an integral part of the orally transmitted and written literary tradition of the island. The first four Nanzi stories were written down in Papiamentu in 1899 with a Dutch translation. Baart (1983) suggests that the probable author was Abraham Jesurun. In 1926, two Nanzi stories were published in Dutch. Between 1937 and 1940, a new collection of 26 Nanzi stories appeared in Dutch, and another nine stories in Dutch were published in 1947.

In 1952, a new publication in Papiamentu appeared. Thirty stories were published in Papiamentu by the Antillian folklorist Nilda M. Geerdink-Jesurun Pinto (Baart 1983). A second edition of Nilda Pinto's work was published in 1965. Most of the Papiamentu stories have been translated into English by Wood (1972), and into Dutch by Baart (1983). Wood's work presents the translation of 29 stories. In his introduction, Wood mentions that these stories were compiled by Nilda Pinto from stories which were collected by folklorists, teachers and priests since the end of the 19th century. Wood also remarks that these stories are very similar to those which he compiled during his stay in Curaçao and Bonaire in 1967.

The data for the present study were collected from the third edition of the Kuenta di Nanzi, in Papiamentu, based on the stories compiled by Nilda Pinto. The third edition was edited in Curaçao in 1983 by I.P.E.P (Instituto pa Promoshon i Estudio di

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Papiamentu). This edition contains 32 stories. According to the introduction, the publication of 1983 differs from the two former ones in some words and phrase constructions, but the essence of the stories is always maintained.

The tradition of the Nanzi stories continues, however. Recently I came into possession of a new edition of Nanzi stories, written by Richard de Veer and published in Aruba. As the writer mentions in his prologue, Nanzi does not search for food anymore, as he did in the past, but his main goal in life is making a lot of money (De Veer n.d.). The Antillean society has changed and Nanzi's social position has risen: he knows how to write and read; he has his own business, showing tourists the house where he was born, and even goes into politics.

The Nanzi stories thus played an important role in the oral literature of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, and they continue to be part of the oral and written literature on the islands. Stories about Nanzi the spider are also found in many other parts in the Caribbean, such as Jamaica, St. Eustatius and St. Lucia. Because these stories have a long history, back to Africa, having been brought by slaves, they represent a continuity of culture in the face of adversity. Although they have been translated, I am not aware of any linguistic analysis of these stories having been published. For the above mentioned reasons and because of my interest in Papiamentu (I am a speaker of Dutch and Spanish and have visited Curaçao twice), I chose the Papiamentu Nanzi stories for the narrative analyis presented in my study.

1.3.2 Methodology

For my analysis I considered the entire collection of the Nanzi stories of 1983. However, I based my proposal of narrative structure on an in-depth analysis of story 2:

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"Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" (Compa Nanzi and Cha Tiger), then testing my results through comparison with the other stories to determine if the narrative structure of the other stories of the collection corresponded with the proposed narrative structure.

In order to prepare the text of story 2 for narrative structure analysis, I retranscribed each sentence of the Papiamentu text and numbered the sentences. Then, I provided a word-by-word translation of the Papiamentu text into English. This was followed by a free translation into English (see Appendix A). I repeated this procedure for story 17, which is also titled "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" (see Appendix B). In the word-by-word translation, I used the following abbreviations (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995):

Table 1.3 Abbreviations in Nanzi Stories 2 and 17

Papiamentu TMA (tense/mood/aspect) Markers		English	Abbreviation
ta	Present, progressive	is	PRES
tabata	Imperfect, past	was	IMP
a	Perfective past	was, has been	PERF
lo	Future	will be	FUT
Other Abbreviations:			
Focus marker		FOC	
Plural particle		PLU	
Past Participle		PP	
Possessive Pronoun		POS	

The Nanzi stories were originally oral stories in which punctuation does not play a role. In the written versions, however, the stories appear with punctuation and narratives are divided into paragraphs. Although I mostly followed the punctuation of the written text, there are several ambiguous cases, which I will discuss. Also, in several instances I found it necessary to change the paragraph division.

For the character analysis in chapter 4, I separated each clause of every sentence of story 2 (Appendix C). The number of each clause refers to the sentence in which it

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occurs. If a sentence consisted of more than one clause, each clause retained the number of the sentence.

The Papiamentu text in the retranscription and other locations in the present study (with the exception of titles) is given in italics. Also, translations of the Papiamentu text (with the exception of the text in Appendixes A, B and C) are given between single quotation marks. If the Papiamentu text represents a quote, the translation of this quote is given between single and double quotation marks.

In the following chapter 2, I will present a review of the literature about stories, narratives and discourse, and I will discuss how narratives can be analyzed. Then, in chapter 3, I will discuss my analysis of Nanzi story 2 in order to propose a narrative structure for this story, which forms the model for the other Nanzi stories in this study. Chapter 3 will also include a discussion of transitions which occur between one episode and another inside the story. In chapter 4, I will present an analysis of the characters in Nanzi story 2 who form the connection from one event to another within these episodes. Nanzi is the main character who connects one story to the next. Then, in chapter 5, I will present my final conclusions.

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CHAPTER 2. NARRATIVE TEXT AND DISCOURSE UNITS

2.1 Narratives and Approaches to Narrative Analysis

I have three main goals in this chapter. The first is to discuss the nature of discourse in general, with particular attention to narratives, especially how they are structured and the role they play in society (sections 2.1.1-2.1.3). The discussion will also include an overview of the elements involved in stories as a particular type of narrative. I will then turn to the consideration of how levels of narrative analysis can be determined. The various perspectives I evaluate (sections 2.1.4-2.1.5) include those proposed by Barthes (1975), Chatman (1978), and Bal (1991). Finally, in section 2.1.6-2.1.8, I will consider the approaches to narrative analysis taken by Propp (1994), Hasan (1989), and King (1992); Propp's approach will receive most attention here, while the theories of Hasan and King will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.5-4.6. I will also focus on the approaches to narrative analysis posed by Labov and Van Dijk (sections 2.2 and 2.3), as they present the basic concepts for my proposal for narrative structure (chapter 3). Section 2.2 will also include Halliday's theory of the clause, which I use to present an analysis of the characters in the Nanzi stories (chapter 4). My goal in the present chapter is to provide the definitions and characteristics of these three concepts which are crucial to my analysis of Papiamentu Nanzi stories.

2.1.1 Discourse, Narrative, and Story

The present study is a discourse analysis of a collection of narratives. Discourse refers to " any unit of language beyond the sentence" (Schiffrin 1995:253) and it includes "all forms of oral and written communication" (Renkema 1993:86). There are, however,

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many different kinds of discourse, such as short stories, sermons, scientific articles, telephone calls, and interrogations. Native language users easily learn to recognize the difference between one kind of discourse and another; for example they know when they are reading a business letter as opposed to a personal letter. Members of a speech community also know as if by intuition in which environment to use a specific kind of discourse, e.g., "That's not the kind of remark you want to put into the minutes" (Renkema 1993:90). The speech community has been defined by several linguists. Duranti, for example, states that a speech community is "a group of people who share the rules for interpreting and using at least one language (Gumperz 1972) or linguistic variety (Hymes 1972)" (in Duranti 1995:216). Guy mentions that a speech community is determined by "shared norms" which refer to knowledge of and rules for social behavior in all aspects, including linguistic norms (1995:50). Intuition about these linguistic norms comes from learned cultural knowledge. In an effort to understand this closely held human knowledge about discourse, several classifications of discourse types have been proposed (Renkema 1993). Werlich, for example, suggests a division of discourse based on sentence structures (in Renkema 1993). He makes a distinction between "descriptive, narrative, explanatory, argumentative and instructive discourse." In this approach, narrative discourse is recognizable by its verb in the past tense and its time and place orientations, while instructive discourse is caracterized by the frequent use of the imperative. Narrative may appear in many forms; that is, it may be sub-classified, e.g., into myths, epics, legends, folktales, history and news reports. Semiotically complex non-linguistic products such as paintings or stain-glass windows can also be interpreted

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to contain narratives (Barthes 1975). However, few (if any) researchers have attempted to present a classification which includes all discourse types (Renkema 1993). The ultimate utility of such a classification is unclear, and the social and cultural factors that enter into such classifications make them problematic.

There are two major approaches to the linguistic study of language and language in general each of which presents a different view on discourse. One of those views is the formalist-structuralist approach which considers discourse as "language above the sentence or above the clause" (Schiffrin 1995a:23). Scholars who follow this approach regard the sentence or clause as the basic unit of discourse (e.g., Labov 1972; note: although not all of Labov's work could be considered to be structuralist). The relationship between clauses and sentences thus is the concern of a structural analysis. Structuralists do not, however, take into account the personal and social characteristics of the speaker or the nature of the context in which the sentence is used. Rather, they consider language as an autonomous system, independent of its social and cognitive functions (Schiffrin 1995a).

Functionalists, on the contrary, regard discourse as "language in use" (Brown and Yule 1993:1; see also Schiffrin 1995a:31). According to this approach, language is considered to be a system that people use to perform social and cultural functions (Schiffrin 1995a). One of the most important functions of language is the transmission of information, where the goal of the communication is that the addressee understands the information correctly, so that he can respond accordingly. However, language is also used for many other human purposes, including the reinforcement of interpersonal

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relationships with the goal to start a conversation (phatic communion), to exchange experiences (informative), to express emotions (emotive), or to pursuade another person to take action (conative) (Austin 1975; Brown & Yule 1993; Jakobson 1980). Phatic communion, a term coined by B. Malinowski, is a "type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words" (Malinowski 1965:315). Phatic communion occurs regularly in informal conversations where speaker and interlocutor may initially exchange a couple of (more or less ritualized) phrases which create the appropriate social and linguistic environment for the discourse. Phatic talk thus has a social function; it serves to establish contact, to continue or close a conversation (Brown & Yule 1993; Jakobson 1980; Malinowski 1965; Stenström 1994). Language also has a phatic function when a speaker tries to check if the addressee is listening, for example, "Hello, do you hear me?" (Jakobson 1980:84). A speaker using phatic talk to establish, prolong, or end a communication makes use of a linguistic code which is also accessible to the addressee because the latter adheres to the same code. Thus, when a speaker expects confusion about the interpretation of his message by the addressee, he may pose the question: "Do you know what I mean?" and, when necessary, he may replace a word or sentence by a synonym or an explanatory sentence. Language used to interpret or to discuss language as a linguistic system, is called "metalanguage" (Jakobson 1980: 86). Language thus plays an important role in our daily interactions to transmit information and to establish communication for interpersonal relationships (Brown and Yule 1993). The functionalists therefore insist upon considering the context of an utterance as crucially important in the interpretation of a message.

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Discourse can appear in written or spoken form (Sherzer 1987). There are several differences between the spoken and written media of expression, which actually array themselves along a continuum (Chafe 1982; Finnegan 1992; Tannen 1982).

Written discourse can be "worked over"; writers may reread and revise their text indefinately before they decide to present it to their readers, or they may spontaneously scribble a chatty note (Chafe 1994:43). Speakers, on the contrary, may have to produce their messages instantly, as in conversation, unless the discourse is preplanned, for example an oft-given lecture, or a conference presentation, where the speech may be well rehearsed and thus similar to revised writing. An unique characteristic of spoken discourse is that the speaker may instantly and continually adapt her message to the reaction of the hearer. Yet when the hearer responds, the speaker has little time to prepare an anwer. In impersonal written discourse, the writer can only imagine the reaction of her readers, because she is not directly involved with them (Brown and Yule: 1993). Written language can therefore be expressed in a detached way; for example, in English, the passive voice is often used for this purpose. The speaker's involvement with an audience, on the contrary, which is expressed by such features as 1st person reference, is often not used in formal written language (Chafe 1982).

Spoken discourse remains in our perception for a short period of time only. Technical devices such as taperecorders make reproduction of spoken discourse possible. Written discourse, on the contrary, transcends time. It can be read and handled at any occasion after its production, even in another location. Many documents have been preserved for centuries and are still available for us to read and to interpret.

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There is a difference between the way human beings remember spoken and written discourse. Details mentioned during spoken discourse will not be remembered in general, especially if the time between the discourse and the recall of the discourse is considerable (Brown and Yule 1993). For example, in a study done by Hildyard and Olson (1982) among 3rd and 5th grade children, it appeared that listeners remembered the theme of the story they were asked to recall; that is, they could explain what the story conveyed in general. Readers, on the contrary, were able to remember specific details as they were mentioned in the written text. Also, they were more proficient in drawing conclusions from what was expressed in the text.

Another important feature of spoken discourse, especially for storytellers, is the use of prosodic features, such as changes in voice, pitch, volume, and in tempo. These expressive qualities however, are generally not represented in written discourse, except through specialized transcription systems (Du Bois 1991, and Tannen 1989, in Schiffrin 1995a; Tedlock 1983). The reader usually has limited cues, for example, as to what degree the voice of the participants in the story was friendly or harsh, and he has to guess about the voice quality and intonation, unless these qualitities are emphasized by the writer through descriptive terms such as "yell" or "quietly" (Brown and Yule 1993; Chafe 1994).

Another aspect of spoken discourse is its "situatedness", that is that it occurs in a context shared by the interlocutors (Chafe 1994:44). The participants in a conversation for the most part interact with each other in the same location - telephone conversation being an exception in this regard. Spoken discourse interaction is therefore influenced by

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the co-presence of the participants, especially in the use of linguistic features such as deictics, and non-linguistic features such as gestures and facial expression. Written language, however, is marked by "desituatedness" (Chafe 1994:44). The physical environment of the transmission of the discourse and its reception are most often not the same. Because the reader of the written discourse usually does not influence the language production, the writer must also include more information in order that the reader may be clear about the meaning of the communication.

Despite the reluctance to classify discourse types mentioned above, narrative is a universally recognized type of discourse. Every society has its narratives. Narrative

> ... is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; indeed narrative starts with the very history of mankind; there is not, there has never been anywhere, any people without narrative; ... Like life itself, it is there, international, transhistorical, transcultural (Barthes 1975:237).

Before arriving at a definition of narrative (in section 2.1.2), I will first review some of its characteristic features.

From the earliest analyses, narratives have been understood to have a beginning, middle and end, as Aristotle proposed in Art of Poetry (in Hutton 1982). Thus narratives have a "trajectory", moving inevitably through familiar sequence (Toolan 1995:4). That narratives start with an introduction, which is followed by a sequence of actions, and end with a resolution is evident from Labov's analysis of narratives. Labov and Waletzky (1967) studied oral narratives of personal experience told by individuals of different age groups in New York City. Some speakers produced narratives which only consisted of "temporally ordered clauses" or "narrative clauses"; however it was always evident that the narratives invariably included a beginning, middle, and end (Labov 1972:361). Other

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speakers created more fully developed narratives which included initial clauses, followed by the narrative proper, including a resolution, and followed by a final clause which signalled the end of the narrative (Labov 1972). Labov's subjects told their stories in their native language, black English vernacular. However, from a study by Ramirez (forthcoming) among college-aged students, it appears that also subjects learning a second language, make an effort to incorporate narrative units into the stories they create. Students at five different levels were asked to produce a story. At each level the students produced stories which included most of the narrative clauses similar to Labov's definition of clauses, i.e., Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation and Resolution. I will return to Labov's elements of narrative in section 2.2.1.

Narratives, like many other types of highly structured discourse, are somewhat artificially constructed, especially in comparison with spontaneous oral interactive discourse, where it is not easy to predict what one's interlocutor might say at any given moment (Toolan 1995). Sermons, jokes, and scholarly lectures, for example, are also composed in the same self-conscious manner. Narratives can, however, emerge from conversation, and even be constructed between several individuals (Brody 1993; Ochs 1997; Schiffrin 1995a; 1995b). An example in Schiffrin (1995a) shows that in an exchange in which a speaker asks for information, the interlocutor answers by telling a story. In the Mayan language Tojolab'al participants in a conversation may become co-narrators of a story by using repetitions (Brody 1993; 1994).

Narratives, like other discourse genres, such as myths, legends, sagas, personal narratives, riddles, and laments, also include "prefabricated units" (Toolan 1995:4; see

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also Finnegan 1992). The same characteristics of heroes and heroines seem to appear in different narratives and their actions also repeat themselves, although in different versions. Propp examines the occurrence of a recurrent pattern of actions and characters in different narratives in his analysis of Russian folktales (1994; see section 2.1.6). We also recognize "prefabricated units" in, e.g., sermons with ritual beginnings and endings, or in lectures where introductory and concluding phrases are determined by convention.

Genre is a problematic concept, because classification of discourse according to genre does not result in a clear-cut division between different types of discourse. This view, however, has been put forth only recently; for a long period of time, classification of discourse according to genre was considered unambiguous and generally accepted (Finnegan 1992). That genre as a determining factor for classification of narratives is open, is evident from the stories in this study. The Nanzi stories analyzed here are animal tales, but also trickster stories and spider stories. At the same time they can be considered as folktales because "folktales usually recount the adventures of animal or human characters" (Bascom 1965, in Finnegan 1992:148-149). Genres may overlap or distinctions between genres may differ across cultures. Therefore, the vantage point from which a narrative is considered determines if a discourse is classified as one or another genre. For example, observation of the form of expression of a narrative may lead to a decision about genre which differs from conclusions about genre based on function or performance of a narrative (Finnegan 1992). Other criteria used for the determination of genre include: the social context of a discourse, e.g., songs during funerals; and, theme of the discourse, e.g., love, origin of the world (Finnegan 1992; Titunik 1986). Genre

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related to its social environment, e.g., social class, age and gender, is also related to the role of power. For example, the use of a traditional genre such as the invocation of ancestors, gives the speaker power over her audience (Briggs and Bauman 1995; see below).

Another structural characteristic of narrative is that there is always at least a teller and an addressee, even though one party or the other is not always evident or visible, or more than these two parties may actually be involved in intermediate roles (see section 2.1.5). Given that speaking is primary to writing (Ochs 1997; Ong 1982) narrative in its most basic form is orally transmitted, and thus both teller and addressee are obviously present. The addressee focuses on the telling of the narrative, but at the same time his attention is directed towards the teller. The addressee may feel close to or distant from the teller, depending in part on the degree to which the teller and hearer become absorbed in the tale. However, there must also exist a relationship of mutual understanding or trust between the teller and the addressee in that, because the addressee allows the teller to initiate the narration, he gives the teller some degree of power over him. Narratives - whether told by politicians, parents, or friends - influence our lives to a certain degree (Toolan 1995). In written narratives, the relationship between the narrator and the reader can be more distant than for spoken narratives, which may increase in closeness from the proximity of the interlocutors. Depending on the genre, the author writes his narrative for a reader whom he does not necessarily know and he communicates with the reader through the voice of the narrator. See section 2.1.5 for the role of narrator in narrative transmission.

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Narratives such as stories, histories or personal experiences, usually relate past events. Narratives such as sports broadcasts focus on present time events. The broadcaster comments on actions which are taking place at the very time of the reporting. Narratives can also include future events; for example, suggestions, warnings or plans all refer to future actions. Humans live in the world of the present, but they remember experiences from the past and are concerned about the future. Therefore, narratives that relate events which happened in the past necessarily also include the present and the future (Ochs 1997).

It is the displacement feature of language which grants humans the ability, among others, to bring back events which happened in the past (Brown & Yule 1993; Toolan 1995). A speaker can relate to a listener a version of what she said to another listener at another time, or what she intends to say at a later moment. Humans can even create hypothetical worlds, which are far removed from the speaker and hearer. Narratives thus may contain real or fictitious events, or a combination of the two (Toolan 1995).

Stories are one of the genres of narrative. Orally transmitted stories are often introduced by the storyteller with a prefabricated preface, such as, "Do you want to hear a story?" Another introductory formula for "fairytales" is "Once upon a time ..." Written stories are often identified as such by their title. Stories may be narrated among family members and friends or, members of the same community. They may recount personal experiences of the storyteller, but also interpret events which happened in the past:

> A tale or anecdote, that is, a replaying, is not merely any reporting of a past event. In the fullest sense, it is such a statement couched from the personal perspective of an actual or potential participant, who is located so that some temporal, dramatic development of the reported event proceeds from that starting point (Goffman 1974:504).

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Stories thus are interpretations. Despite their familiar structure, stories relate events that are usually unexpected or extraordinary and, often troublesome (Ochs 1997). These are the qualities that make a story worthy of telling, that is, worth being listened to.

Stories do not exist without cultural context. The circumstances in which a story is appropriately told have to be culturally acceptable. A story told at the wrong occasion will negatively influence the opinion of the audience about the storyteller, or can even have cosmic consequence. On a local level, the story has to be related in some way to the current discourse transmitted before the beginning of the story in order for its telling to be appropriate (Ochs 1997).

This is to say that stories are told for a reason; they must have a point (Ochs 1997). A story which does not contain an interesting, disturbing or surprising point is not worth telling. In that case, the listener may ask: "So What?" The storyteller thus needs to organize the basic story material, which includes participants, actions, time, and place in such a way that the listener becomes aware of the point of the story. The point of the story is expressed in a part of narrative structure which Labov defines as "Evaluation" (see section 2.2). The storyteller may also give comments on the events throughout the narrative to underline the point of the story. These comments may also be part of the Evaluation. In many cultural situations, the listener also has an active role of responding to stories and other verbal performances as they are related (Brody 1993; 1994; Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991).

Especially when a storyteller recounts a personal experience, the subjectivity of the storyteller plays an important role. He decides how he wants to present his story, which

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parts to include or leave out and, which events to highlight. The audience to which the storyteller presents his story is a particular audience with whom the storyteller has a mutual understanding; thus intersubjectivity is also important in story telling. For this reason, we must understand that "a story is a reconstruction of an experience, told at a specific time, in a specific place, to a specific audience for whom the storyteller seeks to demonstrate the validity of a general claim (e.g., about oneself, one's experience, or the world)" (Schiffrin 1995a:307).

Stories usually involve a key event, which disrupts the previously established equilibrium. The predictable situation in the story is disturbed in one way or the other. Labov's approach to narrative structure includes this key event in the "Complicating actions" (Ochs 1997:197; see also section 2.2).

The ordering of actions, participants and place and time in the story, which Labov calls "Complicating actions," can be related in different ways. This "action structure" as Van Dijk (1975:274) calls it, is the plot. The storyteller or author has the basic story material at her disposition and may arrange this material as she wishes, in order to highlight or background certain elements for rhetorical reasons. For example, she may consider certain events to be important or interesting for her audience. She may also emphasize some events or not mention other events. A storyteller or author can thus hold back a particular event in order to bring it out later in the story to create a more dramatic effect, or she may use flashbacks. Each time the storyteller changes the sequence of the events, she proposes a different plot version (Chatman 1978:43).

However, not every sequence of events can be considered a plot. In fact, "it is human interest that determines whether events and causes fit together in a plot with beginning

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and end" (Martin 1986:87). Scherzer (1987) for example, describes how in narratives of the Kuna Indians in Panama, events are temporally ordered in a manner which is illogical for Western Europeans and North Americans, but which must be related in this order to make sense in Kuna cosmology. Thus, it depends on the narrative logic of a culture or society if one event logically follows another event, thus forming a plot.

In this section I discussed discourse, narrative and story: narrative as a type of discourse and the story as one of the expressions of narrative. In the following sections I will consider the narrative in greater detail. Although the analysis in this study refers to stories, I will consider them within the framework of narrative, as narrative is a more broadly encompassing concept. The next section 2.1.2 will include some definitions of narrative and consider the elements of which a narrative is composed.

2.1.2 Definition and Components of Narrative

A narrative can be defined as "a large sentence, just as any declarative sentence is, in a certain way, the outline of a little narrative" (Barthes 1975:241). Schiffrin (1995a) considers the narrative from the perspective of its structure. She proposes that "narratives are a discourse unit with a fairly regular structure that is largely independent of how they are embedded in surrounding talk" (Schiffrin 1995a:284). Narratives thus can be framed within a larger discourse, for example a dispute, but the dispute can also be embedded within a still larger narrative (Ochs 1997:187). Despite the fact that narratives may be multiply embedded in that they can be structurally separated from their context, they can be analyzed as separate discourse entities.

Toolan (1995) concentrates on the events in the narrative and the way these events are arranged. He defines a narrative as the recounting of "a perceived sequence of no

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randomly connected events" (Toolan 1995:7). In order for a narrative to be successful, the events or actions in the narrative are necessarily organized and related to each other, and the listener or reader must be able to perceive this relationship. Simply recounting several actions does not constitute a particularly satisfying narrative; the narrative must have some common characteristics and make some meaningful connections. The relationship between participants and actions is central in narrative discourse. "The transition from one state to another, caused or experienced by actors" is Bal's definition of event (1985:13). Thus, actions and actors are two crucial elements found in narratives, and they are highly interactive with one another.

These elements form the basic unshaped story material or, "fabula," which lies beneath the surface of the narrative (see section 2.1.4). Other authors, such as Chatman designate this level of narrative as "story." However, I prefer to use fabula for the basic story elements to avoid confusion with the story as a type of narrative. What we perceive as the fabula includes: a) the actions, as they occur in chronological order; b) the participants (or, actors as Bal [1985] calls them; Chatman [1978] uses the term existents for participants, and Van Dijk [1975] refers to them as agents); c) time; and d) location. In the transformation from a fabula to a narrative, actions become events, participants are transformed into characters and, time and place orientations become settings.

To begin with the event as one of the necessary common components in the narrative, Chatman considers events to be "changes of state" or "happenings" (1978:44). Yet it is an agent who performs an action which causes a change to the state of affairs in the world of the narrative. The agent, the second component of narrative, has control

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over the action. He can initiate or terminate the action as he wishes. Alternatively, something happens to the agent, the person who is affected by the change. For example, in the sentence "Oliver collapsed," Olivier does not initiate an action; rather, he is an affected participant (Toolan 1995:113). Van Dijk (1975:278) also considers "state changes" to be events. State changes occur if "one or more objects are added to or removed from the state or if one or more objects acquire or lose certain properties or mutual relations" (Van Dijk 1975:278). For example, a rise of temperature, and Oliver's collapse are both state changes. Therefore, describing a state of affairs does not form a narrative. "... narrative requires the unfolding of an action, change, difference" (Todorov 1990:28). In order for a sequence of sentences or clauses to be a narrative, some change in the existing situation is necessary: something has to happen.

The "action structure" aspect of narrative can be taken as a point of departure for analysis, because the description of an action is one of the major characteristics of a narrative (Van Dijk 1975:273). By defining narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experiences by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred," Labov (1972) also suggests that events are the main elements of narrative discourse. Chatman (1978) however does not consider events to be more important than characters. He argues that when an event takes place, there must be a character. When a text only includes characters but does not involve events (for example a descriptive essay), it would not be called a narrative.

The events in narratives mostly refer to the physical acts of the characters. However, there are also narratives in which "actions are done with words," e.g., insults, refusals,

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threats, etc. (Labov 1972:299). In a legal trial for example, someone's words and the order in which these words are uttered, form the basic narrative. Words uttered by one person may drive another person mad to a point that she commits a murder (Toolan 1995). Thus the speech of a character which causes a change of state, can also be considered an event.

Events in a narrative are temporally ordered. Because an event is a change of state, it also involves a change in time (Van Dijk 1975:278). Narrative time helps the organization of narrative so that the reader can remember preceding events and anticipate their conclusion. The change in time which is expressed in the discourse is, however, different from the time in the fabula. Although fabula-time (Bal's term; Chatman refers to story-time for the time in the fabula) and discourse-time are related, there are several differences between those time categories. The most important elements related to time in a narrative are order, duration and frequency (Chatman 1978; Bal 1985). The time sequence of the fabula may occur in the same order as the sequence of time in the textual representation of the story, which is the discourse. Fabula-time however, differs from discourse-time when a writer or narrator decides to use techniques such as "flashbacks and flashforwards." Flashbacks (or, analepses) interrupt the time sequence of the narrative and relate events which occurred before the moment of interruption. Flashbacks may refer to events which occurred only a short period of time before the beginning of the narrative, but they may also involve a time span of several years. Flashforwards (or, prolepses) refer to events which will be related at a later moment in the narrative. Flashforwards alert the reader or listener to the possible

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direction of further development of the narrative (Bal 1985; Chatman 1978; Toolan 1995).

Duration refers to the relation between the time which the events last in the fabula and the time which they occupy in the discourse. Discourse time can, for example, be longer than fabula-time when certain events are stretched out as in "slow motion" as it may occur in cinema presentations (Chatman 1978:72). In written discourse however, the writer needs to resort to other resources, such as repetition, or the variation in detail of description of events throughout a narrative. Discourse time can also be shorter than the time in the fabula, such as when a narrative is summarized and the events are then grouped together or parts are eliminated (Bal 1985; Chatman 1978).

Frequency is the third relationship between discourse-time and fabula-time. The discourse can, for example, refer to several actions in the narrative which are expressed by a single presentation, such as "during" or "every day of the week," or by modals such as "would" and "kept on" (Chatman 1978:78; Bal 1985).

Narratives thus unfold in time; they "depict a temporal transition from one state of affairs to another ... far more than an ordering of events" (Ochs 1997:189). Whereas the time frame used for description in a narrative is a continuous element, event time expressing the changes of state which are characteristic of narrative is "sliced up into discontinuous units" (Todorov 1990:28). The division of a narrative into temporal sections leads to the consideration of the episode as a subunit of the narrative structure, as van Dijk (1982) suggests. The beginning of a new episode, for example, is indicated by a marker of time orientation (see section 2.3). Labov proposes that the sequence of

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events in a narrative are represented in clauses which are "characteristically ordered in temporal sequence" (1972:360).

Events also have a causal connection. This relationship may be explicit or implicit. But even when there is no explicit causal relation, the reader understands that one must exist because of his knowledge of the world - knowledge which is often strongly informed by culture. Forster's example "The king died and then the queen died" implies for the reader that the death of the king caused the queen's death (in Chatman 1978:45), The events in a narrative thus follow each other in time and any event may cause or influence a following event (Van Dijk 1992). One of the major components of a narrative is thus the event, which, on the fabula-level is the action performed by a participant.

Participants or actors, as discussed earlier in this section, are the second most important elements on the fabula level, and they become characters once they enter the narrative. The term actor is a general and abstract term and does not necessarily refer to a human being. A character, however, is a "complex semantic unit" and can be defined as an " actor provided with distinctive characteristics which together create the effect of a character" (Bal 1985:79). A character, even if not necessarily human, thus is human-like. Chatman considers a participant to be a character if the action undertaken by the participant is "plot-significant" (1978:44). Chapter 4 will be concerned with a further discussion of the character.

Events necessarily occur in a location or place. Bal (1985) describes the presentation of place in a narrative as "space," the third characteristic of narrative. Space is part of the setting, which identifies the time and place of the story. Space can be presented as

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"steady", functioning as a background for the events which take place in it. But space can also function "dynamically," in order for the character to move. For example, a character travels and therefore needs a large space (Bal 1985:96). The setting also contributes to identifying the social circumstances of the characters (Ochs 1997). Every type of narrative has a different setting and within that setting, the reader recognizes stereotypes of characters (Toolan 1995). That is, the reader has a notion of the type of character she can expect in a specific environment in the story, e.g., a butler in a mansion. This notion of expectation is called "schema," a term proposed by the psychologist Bartlett (1932, in Tannen 1993). A schema is based on cultural knowledge stored in the human mind which forms the background for the interpretation of new experiences. This knowledge is activated in certain situations, such as understanding of discourse, especially narrative (Brown and Yule 1993).

The setting is important for readers, because they need to identify the place in which the characters move in order to understand the narrative. Even when the narrative does not include a description of place, the reader will imagine one (Bal 1985). The setting may also influence the way a character behaves, or it may be influenced by the character (Toolan 1995). For example, in Nanzi story 1, Shon Arei's garden has abundant trees with beautiful fruits, which are so tempting that Nanzi decides to steal some fruits. And, a character may even be identified with a setting; for example, Shon Arei lives in a palace, which is an accoutrement of his authority.

Although I discussed time above in relation to the presentation of the ordering of events in the narrative text, time is also another element of the setting. Narratives need to

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begin at a certain point in time which is expressed in the discourse related to the setting. Readers or listeners thus place characters within a special time frame which may provoke certain expectations about the narrative because of the reader or listener's knowledge about the world or a specific culture (see Kuna cultural logic of time, section 2.1.1). The temporal ordering of events which occur in the episodes following the setting thus relates to the initial time orientation presented in the setting. Thus a parallel relation holds in narrative between time and setting.

In this section I defined narrative as it is considered from different theoretical and analytical perspectives. All narratives contain several common components which are events, characters, and setting. It is the arrangement of those components which characterizes a specific narrative. Narratives, however, are always related to their cultural context and in this environment they have a social function, as it will be evident from the following section.

2.1.3 The Social Role of Narrative

In section 1.2, I discussed the spider stories of Curaçao and their importance for the Curaçaoan society. In this section I consider some other social functions of narrative. Especially in relatively homogeneous contexts, narrator and audience share the same cultural knowledge. Many narratives are told to express the narrator's feelings about certain situations or frustrations in someone's personal life. Through the telling of a narrative to friends, family members, or other persons in our environment we may attempt to solve our own or others' problems and relate them to a larger domain of relationships and other human values (Ochs 1997).

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Therefore, when narratives are orally transmitted, listeners may participate in the narration by commenting on certain parts of the narrative, depending on the cultural tradition. The narrator may expect and be expected to include these response elements in his discourse, and in this way the audience becomes a co-narrator (Brody 1993). Thus, narrator and audience work together in order to construct a narrative, which creates solidarity within the narrative community. Particularly in family storytelling, all family members are co-narrators, taking turns in the role of narrator or audience (Ochs 1997).

The creation of a narrative as a result of the cooperation between narrator and co-narrators is very well described by Scheub (1998). Scheub analyzes the creation of stories told orally in several societies in South Africa and concludes that "... story is indeed narrative, it is pattern, it is trope, but most important it is the manipulation of the emotions of members of the audience into form" (1998:269). Very much as in the case of the Nanzi stories, these narratives will always be considered against the background of the images present in the collective common knowledge of the community. The narrative thus presented will also remind the audience of other versions of the same narrative which are stored in memory. Images invoked in this manner stir the emotions of the audience and narrator. However, not only emotions unite narrator and audience but also the "rhythmic context" (Scheub 1998:49). The narrator uses her body, hands and voice to evoque an image, to which the audience responds with the movement of their bodies. This combination of evoked images and rhythm creates the environment for the construction of a narrative in which concerns of a community, such as the disruption and eventual restoration of order and harmony between members of families and community,

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can be expressed. Scheub therefore considers narrative as "a device, a tool - nothing more, nothing less" (1998:48). Narratives can be told on a particular occasion to point out what happens when a member of a society deviates from the social norms, therefore underlining the accepted standard of behavior in the culture. In this way, narratives can be a tool for teaching youngsters and new members of the society how to act appropriately (Ochs 1997:193; Scheub 1998:50).

Narration may also alleviate the pressure of society, "Through the Ananse's tales, the Akan individual experiences vicarious freedom from the societal boundaries that bind so tightly" (Vecsey 1993:118). Ananse breaks the rules of society and deceives the other members who trust him, but at the same time he is the cultural hero because he has the courage to oppose the establishment. Social frustrations in a community can thus be released by narrating trickster stories, as I mentioned in section 1.1. Sports or other activities can also distract people from their social grievances. However, trickster stories which ridicule the belief system and values of a society not only function as entertainment but also educate people, confirm societal values, and warn about consequences of violation (Hynes 1993).

The cultural environment always determines whether a narrative is tellable or not. When narrating a story a teller exposes aspects of his identity, especially when he comments on the events in the story (see Labov's discussion of Evaluation, section 2.2.1). Therefore, a story told on an inappropriate occasion may damage the image of the teller (see section 2.1.1). Besides, not just anybody is entitled to challenge a narrator when he tells his story. In families, for example, stories told by a family member are

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mostly challenged by the other members of the family. Ochs (1997) mentions that a study of white middle class American families showed that it is most often the father who challenges the children when they narrate their experiences. The children are offered the least opportunity to challenge the narrator. This social action contributes to the strenghtening of the position of the father in the family.

Narrative is always a social activity. It involves a narrator and an audience which, as I mentioned above, may become a co-narrator, depending on the cultural environment in which the narrative is created. The telling of a narrative evokes emotions which relate images from the past or from shared cultural knowledge to current experiences. This connection assists in solving the problems which occupy the minds of the members of the society at present and in the future.

The following section 2.1.4 will be concerned with the different levels on which narratives can be analyzed. Then, in section 2.1.5 I will consider another aspect of the discourse level, which is that of the participant roles involved in narration.

2.1.4 Levels of Narrative Analysis

Since Aristotle, a variety of approaches to dividing narrative have been suggested. Aristotle made a 3-part distinction between: *praxis*, the imitation of real world events, *logos*, the argument, and *mythos*, the plot (in Chatman 1978:19). Russian formalists decided that a narrative consisted of two parts: *fabula*, the basic story material, and *sjužet*, the plot, how the sequence of events is presented, for example in flash-back, or in medias res (Toolan 1995:9). French structuralists also argued that a narrative can be studied on two distinct levels: *histoire* and *discours* or "story" and "discourse" (Chatman

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1978:19-20). Bal (1985) and Rimmon-Kenan (1983) both suggest that the level of discourse should be further subdivided. Whereas Russian formalists and French structuralists propose to study a narrative on two different levels, "fabula" (or, "histoire"; "story") and "sjužet" (or, "discours"; "discourse"), Bal (1985) suggests to divide the second "layer" further into two other "layers", those of "story" and "text". I will use Bal's distinction of the three components, because I also find Bal's works (1985; 1991) useful for my discussion of focalization (see section 4.3.1). Thus, for the first layer Bal uses the designation of "fabula," the second layer is the "story," and "text" is the third layer of discourse. The second layer of "story" includes the arrangement of the sequence of events and the presentation of the characters; it also contains the time, space and the pace of the discourse, which have just been laid out in section 2.1.2. At this level, another feature of discourse, "focalization" is analyzed (Bal 1991:91-101). Focalization addresses the notion of point of view, that is through whose eyes the events or characters are seen. Focalization in discourse is the subject of section 4.4, where I present an analysis of the focalizers and focalized in the Nanzi story "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." At the third layer of "text", the identity and perspective of the narrator is central, for example, whether as externally omniscient or as a character of the narrative. On this level, the manner in which the speech is presented in the narrative, e.g., direct speech, free indirect discourse, etc., is also significant (Bal, 1985:134-142; Toolan 1995:9-11). The discourse between the different characters in the Nanzi stories of the present study is nearly always presented in direct speech. Direct speech creates the impression that discourse is replicated exactly as produced. In the story world, this means that the use of

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direct speech of a character produces a feeling of reality, i.e., as if the speech actually took place. Discourse among the main characters in the Nanzi stories will be discussed in section 4.3.2 (see also section 3.2.1).

Other triadic approaches to narrative include that of Barthes (1975) who proposes to study narrative in terms of "functions," "actions," and "narration" (1975:243,248-50). The term "function" is used in the sense of Propp's "functions" in Morphology of the Folktale (1994). Propp's division of a narrative into "functions" will be discussed in section 2.1.6. Barthes considers "actions" in the sense of Greimas, which means beginning with characters and referring to actions in relation to the characters. Following Propp's example of narrative roles, Barthes classifies characters in a narrative according to their actions and calls them "agents," "characters," or "(linguistic) subjects" (Barthes 1975:257; see also Toolan 1995:21, 93). "Narration" is comparable to "discourse" or "sjužet," the arrangement of the sequence of events in the narrative.

Barthes sees the importance of a narrative function in its "seedlike quality, which enables the function to inseminate the narrative with an element that will later come to maturity, on the same level, or elsewhere on another level" (1975:244). He divides functions into two categories: "functions proper," and "indices." Functions proper are "cardinal functions" or "nuclei", and "catalyses." Nuclei cause other functions to take place in the narrative in that they offer the possibility of a narrative crossroad, where the narrative can develop along two different paths, depending on the choices made. Catalyses are other actions around the cardinal functions which, however, have no consequences for the rest of the narrative, but rather connect two functions. Indices are

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also divided in two types: "indices proper," which refer to character traits or which create a special background atmosphere in a narrative, and "informants," which are connected to "real world" data (Barthes 1975:247-250).

Chatman also discusses the distinction of major and minor events. He calls major narrative events "kernels," which are "nodes or hinges in the [narrative] structure, branching points which force a movement into one or two (or more) possible paths" (Chatman 1978:53). Minor events are "satellites," which do not provide a character with different possibilities for action, but fill in and elaborate the kernels (Chatman 1978:53). Minor events in a narrative may be deleted without damaging the story line; however without them a narrative would loose its value and texture.

Out of these models, Barthes' concept of "nuclei" and Chatman's "kernels" - which I understand to be very similar - are most useful for my analysis. In my discussion of macro-structures as proposed by Van Dijk, classification of nuclei may assist in deciding what the macro-structure of a specific discourse is (see section 2.3). Nuclei stand out as a separate group of functions, because of the fact that they are successive and consequential, whereas the other types of functions simply fill in the narrative space. They can thus be considered as expansions of nuclei (Barthes 1975:248, 250; Toolan 1995:22).

In Bal's (1985) discussion of events in a narrative and determination about which sentences includes an event, she applies Barthes' major vs. minor events to a short text segment. She concludes that it is often very difficult to determine precisely which events should be selected for analysis, and that therefore intuition may often be the decisive

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factor. Also Toolan (1995), criticizing Barthes' and Chatman's classification of events, believes that it is a difficult task to decide which events are nuclei or kernels and which are other types of events. The ringing of a phone, for example, always includes the possibility that it can be answered or not, so Toolan poses the question, "Is this ringing of a phone therefore always a nucleus?" A major difference in approaches is that, according to Toolan, Barthes and Chatman work "from the bottom up" while he suggests that it is more acceptable to work "from the top down" (Toolan 1995:28). Because of their shared cultural knowledge, people who hear or read a narrative are capable of selecting the more important events and characters in a narrative in order to make a conclusion about the point of the story. It is at this point that cultural background and close knowledge and reading of the stories become vitally important.

Decisions about whether an event is a nucleus or not may, however, be facilitated by marked syntactic or morphological features in the language of a narrative. As Longacre (1983) points out in his discussion of main line (most important events) vs. supportive material (less important events) in discourse, features such as tense/aspect distinctions, the occurrence of specific particles or affixes and, a change in word order are all indicators of the difference between major and minor events. In the Romance languages, for example, main events are distinguished from less important events by the use of the imperfective indicative vs. the preterite indicative, respectively. The supportive material may include habitual or continuous actions, descriptive, emotive clauses, or other types. In Itza, a Mayan language, the temporal particle ka'= 'then, when' which occurs in clause initial position, precedes major narrative events which are expressed by

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completive verbal constructions (Hofling 1987:485). In Papiamentu, the language of the narratives in my study, background material, such as the setting, may be expressed by using the TMA (time, mood and aspect) marker *tabata*, used for the imperfective past. Major events may be expressed by the TMA marker *a*, used for the preterite and the present perfect.

In this section I discussed several approaches to narrative analysis which propose a division of a narrative either into two levels (formalist/structuralists) or, three levels (Bal; Barthes; Rimmon-Kenan). All the approaches presented in this section, include in level 2 (the level of discourse or, Bal's layer of "story") the arrangement of the major and minor events and/or characters in a narrative who/which may cause the events to happen (Barthes 1975; Chatman 1978). Characters who appear in the narrative on the second level, or the level of discourse, are the same as participants on the first level, or the level of fabula. There are, however, other participants who are not classified as characters, and as such do not act on the fabula-level but who participate only on the discourse level. They participate in the narrative transaction or, the creation, presentation and, reception of the narrative. I will discuss the functions of these participants in the following section.

2.1.5 Discourse Level: Participant Roles in Narration

So far we have seen three different participant roles in narration. In written discourse, the roles are author, narrator, and reader. In spoken discourse, the roles are author, storyteller, and addressee. Chatman (1975; 1978) proposes three additional roles for the participants in the process of narration. The diagram presented by Chatman, which

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actually refers to written discourse, but can easily be applied to oral discourse, includes six participants of which the "implied author" and "implied reader" are inherent to a narrative, while the "narrator" and "narratee" roles are optional (Chatman 1978:151). The "real author" and "real reader" are not involved in the process of the narrative text. However, within the narrative text they are represented by the "implied author" and implied reader" (Rimmon-Kenan 1983:86).

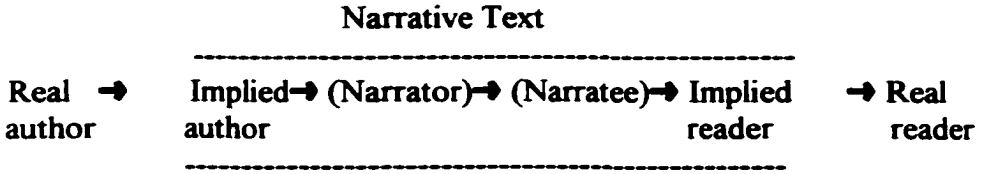

Figure 2.1 Participant Roles in Narration (Chatman 1978:151)

Chatman states that the "implied author" is "reconstructed by the reader from the narrative. ... He, or better, "it" has no voice, no direct means of communicating" (1978: 148). However, both Rimmon-Kenan (1983:87) and Toolan (1995:78) reject Chatman's argument. Rimmon-Kenan argues that, if the "implied author" is only "a construct" and thus has no voice, then it cannot participate in the narrative production. However, if there is no narrator, then the "implied author" takes on the role of a voice in the narrative-communication situation. This is contradictory to Chatman's statement that "the implied author has no voice" (Rimmon-Kenan 1983:87-8). Rimmon-Kenan's critique seems to be a strong argument for the necessary presence of the narrator in the narrating process, and not, as Chatman proposes, an optional participant. Toolan (1995) sees the roles of "real author' and "implied author" actually as consisting of one single role: the author. Although readers imagine the author, that picture is always a "version of the author" (Toolan 1995:78). The same observation can be made about the "real

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reader" and the "implied reader" (Toolan 1995:78). I agree with Toolan that different readers will always envision the person who is the author in different manners. However, I also want to point out that the role of author, narrator and reader can be more complex in certain occasions, such as the Papiamentu narratives of this study. As I mentioned in section 1.1, the Ananse stories were orally transmitted stories which were brought to the New World by African slaves. These slaves became narrators and co-narrators of the Nanzi stories which were spontaneously created at the plantations in Curaçao based on the African stories which the slaves carried in their memory. Therefore, the author of the oral Nanzi stories in Curaçao is the entire community whereas Nilda Geerdink-Jesurun Pinto, who wrote down a considerable number of those stories, is the author of the written Nanzi stories. I will discuss the participant roles involved in the narration of the Nanzi stories in chapter 3.

As mentioned above, Chatman proposes that the role of "narratee" like that of the "narrator"is optional. The narratee may be present in the narrative as a character. The narratee-character is "only one device by which the implied author informs the real reader how to perform as implied reader, which Weltanschauung to adopt" (Chatman 1978:150). The narratee may also be physically absent in the narrative, with only his presence being felt. The implied author can assume the attitude of the implied reader because he/she knows his/her cultural background (Chatman 1978). Toolan (1995) considers the role of narratee optional, but he sees the narratee position as a narrative device rather than a party in narration. Rimmon-Kenan (1983), on the other hand, believes that the role of a narratee is indispensable for narrative fiction. The narratee

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either can be personified or not, so the narrator can thus potentially address his discourse to a character within the narrative or "above" the narrative (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983:89). A discussion of narrators and other narrative roles at different levels of narration will follow later in this section.

Thus, both Toolan and Rimmon-Kenan suggest at least four roles in narration. The role of narratee is optional for Toolan, but required for Rimmon-Kenan (compare figure 2.1):

(Toolan)	author	→	narrator →	(narratee)	→	reader
(Rimmon-Kenan)	real author	→	narrator →	narratee	→	real reader

Figure 2.2 Participant Roles in Narration (Toolan and Rimmon-Kenan)

Most encompassing of all, Bal (1991) proposes that there are 6 agents involved in the production of narratives: 1) The narrator who creates the narrative text; 2) the focalizer who produces the narrative; it is through the eyes of the focalizer that the reader sees the characters and actions; and 3) the actor "who is" and who produces the story. Each of these three agents moves on a different level. However, the actor addresses 4) another actor on the same level; the focalizer addresses 5) an "implied spectator," who is the indirect object of the focalizing (the object of the focalizing is the focalized); and the narrator addresses 6) a hypothetical reader (Bal 1991:88). Bal places the author and reader outside the narrative communication. Like Chatman (1978), she includes implied author/narrator and implied reader. The new elements which she introduces are those of "focalizer" and "implied spectator." Bal's model can thus be represented as follows:

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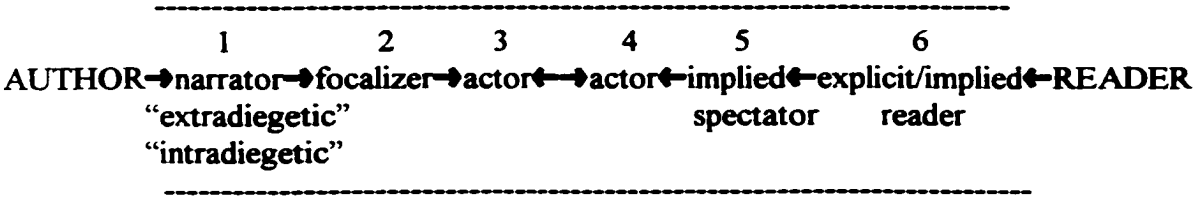

Figure 2.3 Narrative Communication (Adapted from Bal 1991)

The narrator is the agent who speaks in the narrative. By narrating what happens in the narrative, the author has given her the authority to create the narrative text. A narrator can be overtly visible or not in the narrative she tells. Diegesis is "the (fictional) world in which the situations and events narrated occur" (Prince 1989:20). The narrator who is present in the world of the narrative is the "intradiegetic" narrator. The most frequent type of narrator, however, is the invisible narrator, the "extradiegetic" narrator (Bal 1991:89). The extradiegetic narrator is located at the highest level of narration. When this narrator is not present in the narrative she is omniscient. She knows the characters, their feelings, and their thoughts. She also knows the surroundings of the characters and their actions (Bal 1991:78-79; Rimmon-Kenan 1983: 95-96). The use of different diegetic levels for narration creates for Bal the possibility to propose another agent who sees the characters and their environment in the narrative. This agent is called the focalizer. The focalizer operates on two different levels, those of internal and external focalization (Bal 1991). Characters, places and events presented in internal focalization are considered from the view of a character; however, a story "told in external focalization" is presented from the narrator's point of view (Bal 1991:91).

What the narrator says, "the narrated," is always located at a level lower than the level on which the narrating occurs (Bal 1991:91). Also, a "narrative within a narrative" is

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always told on a secondary or, as Bal calls it, "hypodiegetic" level (1991:90). Within Bal's model, the narrator can yield the floor to a character in the narrative. The speech of this character is presented by direct or reported speech which "constitutes a pure instance of mimesis" (Bal 1991:81). The use of direct speech in a narrative is one of the narrative devices to approximate the world of the narrative and the immediate surrounding of the hearer (Chafe 1994). If the character takes the floor, the level of narration changes. The character, who was the intradiegetic narrator becomes the extradiegetic narrator of the direct discourse, which is then considered a hypodiegetic narrative (Bal 1991:90). The role of narrator and different types of speech in a narrative will be further discussed in section 4.3, and 4.3.2.

The narrator is the agent "who speaks." The reader hears her voice and sees the characters, places and events in the narrative. However, the readers sees them through the eyes of another agent, who is called the focalizer. The focalizer thus is the agent "who sees," introducing a "point of view" into the explanation of narrative. The reader follows the "gaze"of the focalizer and looks at the character as the object of focalization, the "focalized." The focalizer thus influences our vision of the character but also of places and events (Bal 1991:87,91). Therefore when Nanzi, the main character in the Nanzi stories of my analysis, says to Cha Tiger: "Can't you see how sick I am?", the reader as spectator perceives Nanzi in the same manner as Cha Tiger sees Nanzi: a (supposedly) sick spider. Cha Tiger thus is the focalizer of Nanzi. However, Nanzi, in his turn is the narrator-focalizer of Cha Tiger, and Nanzi lets the reader see Cha Tiger as a character who can be tricked.

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This point of view of the focalizer who presents a character as he wishes, can be compared to the speaker's empathy or, attitude of the speaker towards a character. For example, when a speaker says: "John married his present wife in 1960" (Kuno 1976:434) the speaker empathizes with John, because "his present wife" also refers to John. John can be considered the "theme" of the sentence or, as Halliday calls it, the "point of departure" of the speaker (1997:299). However, in the sentence "The girl that John married happened to be a dope-addict" the theme of the sentence is the girl and the speaker's empathy is placed on the girl. The speaker thus makes the hearer focus on the theme just as the focalizer makes the spectator focus on the character or places and events.

Out of the four models of participant roles presented in this section, I prefer Bal's model because it includes the focalizer and implied spectator. The concept of focalizer is specially important for my analysis of characters (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.4). Also, the notion of two actors addressing each other is easily applied to my analysis of characters, because of the persuasive discourse between the two main characters in Nanzi story 2, which I use as a an important element in my proposal for narrative structure (section 3.3), and character analysis (section 4.5). The concept of narratee which appears in both Toolan and Rimmon-Kenan's diagram does not relate to the narratives in my study. In my discussion in section 4.5 I will focus on the narrator and focalizer because I consider them to be the active participants in the narrative process whereas spectator and reader are not involved in the creation of the narrative but indirectly involved participants in the narrative communication. Consideration of the role of implied spectator who

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"sees" the character together with the focalizer, is one explanation for the feeling of involvement in the world of the narrative, which the implied reader may have. The roles of implied reader and (real) reader can be important in an environment where narratives form an essential part of the culture, as it occurs in Curaçao (see section 4.4).

In this section, I discussed the different levels on which a narrative can be analyzed, as they were suggested by various authors. I also considered the roles of participants which take part in the process of narration. I will now look at some approaches to narrative analysis, beginning with those of Propp, Hasan and King.

2.1.6 Narrative Analysis: Propp's Structural Analysis

Propp's Morphology of the Folktale, written in Russian and completed in 1928 was published in its English translation in 1958. Propp's work is a pathbreaking study of the structure of one of the genres of narrative, the Russian folktale, and specifically the fairy tale. The structure follows the linear sequence of the elements of the tales. The tales start from an initial state of equilibrium, which is disturbed during the development of the story, and the tales end with a return to the original state of equilibrium. Propp first determines the constants or recurrent elements in the tales and then the variables or changing elements. Propp concludes that the basic component of a tale is the "function" or "act of the character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action" (1994:21). Functions then are the "stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled" (Propp 1994:21). However, the number of functions is restricted and Propp proposes that the actions of the characters in Russian and other tales can be classified into 31 functions. These functions always

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appear in the same order; however, not all functions are present in every tale. Some functions appear necessarily as pairs, for example "interdiction" and "violation" (Propp 1994:109; Toolan 1995:16). One of those pairs, "trickery" (or attempt to deceive a victim) and "complicity" (submission to deception) is important for my analysis of Nanzi story 2 (Propp 1994:29-30). Functions can also be combined under a general heading, for example, the "preparatory part" of the tale (function 1-7) and "complication" (function 8-10) (Propp 1994:31).

Characters or dramatis personae are another important element in the tales which Propp analyzes. Each character is introduced into the tale in a specific way. The hero, for example, is presented at the beginning of the tale and, the introduction of the villain occurs through a sudden appearance (Propp 1994:84). Characters can perform different roles in a narrative and Propp identifies seven basic character roles: the villain, donor, helper, princess or a "sought-for person", dispatcher, hero and false hero (Propp 1994: 79-80). Propp thus simply assigns a role to the characters in a tale, whereas other authors such as Bal and Chatman consider characters as human-like (Bal 1985) or more or less "lifelike" (Chatman 1978:138) having distinctive rather than generic characteristics. Also, Propp's analysis only takes into consideration the recurrent actions of the characters or functions. There is no information about how other less important events in the tales are interwoven with the recurrent patterns which connect tale to tale. Propp's analysis, therefore, provides a static view of the fairytale.

An analysis of the events in a narrative, following Barthes and Chatman's models, provides a different concept of narrative, a more dynamic view. Barthes' nuclei and

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Chatman's kernels form the basic pattern of the narrative, while the other types of events, which are catalyses and indices (Barthes) or satellites (Chatman) form the connections and fill in the space between the main events. One of the major elements, however, is still absent in the overall pattern: the character. Therefore, an analysis of the characters in a narrative, completes the consideration of the global structure of a narrative.

Some of the functions as proposed by Propp were considered for the analysis of the Nanzi stories. I will discuss them in section 3.2.2. Characters in a narrative, what they do, feel or think, and how they relate to other characters is the focus of the following two sections, in which I discuss two different proposals to character analysis, that of Hasan and that of King.

2.1.7 Narrative Analysis: Hasan

Hasan (1989) emphasizes the actions of characters in a narrative. She bases her study on Halliday's (1985) process analysis, which considers clauses as they are used in human language. As I will further discuss in section 2.2, Halliday's (1997) approach to clauses differs from Labov's (1972) consideration of clauses, in that Halliday regards the clause as the expression of how we perceive the world, whereas Labov sees the clause as the building block for the development of a narrative. Halliday (1997) suggests that every clause expresses one out of a set of six processes, i.e., 1) Material processes, which are processes of doing; 2) Mental processes, which are processes of sensing; 3) Relational processes, which are processes of "being"; 4) Behavioral processes, which are processes of physiological and psychological behavior; 5) Verbal processes which are processes of

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saying, and 6) Existential processes which express that something exists or happens (see sections 2.2.2. and 4.5). Every process has one or more participants, depending on the transitivity of the verb expressed in the process. Participants in a Material process, for example, are the Actor and the Goal (Halliday 1997:109, 112). Hasan (1989) applies Halliday's process analysis to a poem in order to decide what causes the reader to interpret the protagonist as being a lonesome person. Consideration of the transitivity of the verbs expressed in the different processes leads to Hasan's determination of the possible actions of the character and other entities. It explains who acts, who feels, who speaks and behaves in a certain manner. It also explains the attributes of the character. At the same time, consideration of the transitivity of the verbs, provides Hasan with the opportunity to decide who is affected by the actions, what is felt, or perceived, what is said and which attribute is ascribed to the character. Therefore, the analysis as proposed by Hasan answers the question "who does what to whom?" (Hasan 1989:36). The application of this approach to the sample story of this study "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," will be discussed in section 4.5.

2.1.8 Narrative Analysis: King

Contrary to Propp, King (1992) believes that actors are the key elements in a story. Therefore, their relationship with the other actors and the development of the actors' personalities is important. Human experience can be expanded through, e.g., travels or by observation of one's surroundings. King proposes five essential elements for a tale, which come close to being universals because they always occur in a tale. These five elements are: 1) Actors; 2) Vectors; 3) Power Sources; 4) Physical context, and 5) Denouement.

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I will further explain the heretofore unmentioned elements of Vector, Power Source and Denouement. Vectors are the feelings which characters emit and receive. By observing vectors, a reader understands how actors deal with each other. Power sources, such as inner strength motivate the actors to perform and provide the energy to act in different situations. Sometimes an external situation is created which serves as the power source that allows an actor to take action. If a character, for example, shows compassion, another character may use this "weakness" to reach a certain goal. Sometimes a situation allows the actor to take action or impede the actor from acting. King describes this situation as the physical context. The denouement is the dramatic moment, the reason why the story is told (King 1992; compare Labov's Evaluation, section 2.2.1). An analysis of narrative with King's elements in mind provides an overview of the actors, particularly of their feelings about themselves and the other actors in the narrative.

So far I have discussed some characteristics of discourse, narrative, and story, and the levels on which narratives can be analyzed. I also mentioned the roles of participants involved in narration. Then I considered several approaches to narrative analysis. One of them is the structural analysis of Propp, who proposes the "function" as the basic element of a narrative. I will now turn to the discussion of two other discourse units, the clause and the episode.

2.2 The Clause as Narrative Unit, Two Perspectives: Labov and Halliday

2.2.1 Labov's Approach to the Clause as Narrative Unit

Whereas Propp's study focused on the action or "function" of the characters in written folktales, Labov's (1972) research focused on development of oral narratives.

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Labov interviewed a group of speakers from different ages (preadolescents, from 9-13 years, adolescents, from 14-19 years, and adults) in south-central Harlem. Every speaker produced an elicited narrative about a personal experience. Labov's analysis also took the socio-cultural background of the narrators into consideration, which is not discussed in Propp's study.

Labov searched for recurrent patterns in his corpus of oral narratives. Labov defines a narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov 1972:359-360; see also Labov and Waletzky 1967:20). His approach "utilizes some of the basic tools of linguistic analysis: it segments texts into sections, labels those sections as part of a structure and assigns functions to those sections" (Schiffrin 1995a:11). Labov found that the narratives in his study consisted of several clauses, which he classified as independent clauses, free clauses, and restrictive clauses. From analysis of the distribution of these clause types in his data, he determined that narratives must include at least two clauses. Therefore, Labov defines a minimal narrative as "a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation" (1972:360). Thus a minimal narrative in Labov's approach is a narrative "containing a single temporal juncture" (1972:361).

Independent clauses or "narrative clauses" form "the skeleton" of the narrative (Labov 1972:361). Narrative clauses are "temporally ordered clauses" which occupy a fixed position in the narrative (Labov 1972:361). They describe the events, that is, what

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happens in a narrative. If narrative clauses are reordered, the semantic interpretation of the story changes also, and a different story appears (Labov 1972:360).

Only independent clauses are considered narrative clauses. Therefore, subordinate clauses, which can be placed before or after the main clause without changing the interpretation of the two clauses as a whole are not considered to be narrative clauses. Labov also does not consider habitual actions in the past as narrative clauses. These actions are expressed by verbs such as "used to," "would," or by the general present, as in "Ya get up there an ..." (Labov 1972:361). A change in the order of these clauses would not result in a different interpretation of the story.

Free clauses are clauses which are "not confined by any temporal juncture" (Labov 1972:361). They are placed around the narrative clauses. Free clauses give additional information about the character or situation in the narrative. They can be moved to another position in the narrative without changing the narrative's interpretation. The third type of clause, the restricted clause, can also be somewhat mobile in the narrative, although not over the totality of the text (Labov 1972). Some of the narratives which Labov analyzed consisted exclusively of narrative clauses, while other narratives included all the types of clauses.

Labov concluded that a fully-formed narrative includes six different sections: 1) Abstract; 2) Orientation; 3) Complicating action; 4) Evaluation; 5) Result or Resolution; 6) Coda (1972:363). The Abstract introduces the narrative and states what the narrative is about. It can also include the point of the narrative and the reason for telling it (Labov 1972:363). Toolan (1995) mentions that Abstracts can also contain

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interchanges between a teller who asks for the floor and an addressee who gives the teller the opportunity to tell his story. In addition, Abstracts may advertise an oral narrative as very appealing to the audience, but, as in all advertising, this illusion may turn out later to be deceptive (Toolan 1995:154). It should be noted that some of the aspects of Abstracts Toolan refers to do not appear in Labov's stories, since Labov's informants were all invited to tell a story and did not have to ask for the floor, while Toolan describes narrators who are in the situation of having to create within the ongoing flow of conversation an opportunity to tell their story and in this dynamic situation the Abstract thus checks it tellability. For both Labov and Toolan, the Abstract announces what the listener or reader can expect of the narrative to follow.

The Orientation identifies the time, place, characters and situation in a narrative. It is identical to the definition of setting which was mentioned in section 2.1.2. Usually, Orientation clauses are free clauses. They can be placed at the beginning of the narrative, but they can also appear later in the story in order to achieve a particular effect, e.g., surprise (Labov 1972:364).

The Complicating actions are the backbone of a narrative. They form a sequence of events which tell what happened in the story (Labov 1972:360). Complicating actions are therefore expressed by narrative clauses which, as mentioned above, cannot be reordered without changing the story (Labov 1972:360). Following up on the expectation created by the Abstract, the Complicating actions in a narrative must demonstrate that the narrative is worth telling, thus they include "reportable" events, (Labov 1972:370), which are "unexpected, dangerous or in general unusual" (van Dijk

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1975:289). Since what Labov asked for was exactly a story that told about an exciting or dangerous event, his research design strongly favored this type of Complicating action. Within the Complicating actions, there is a key event, an "unpredictable, unusual or problematic" event which disrupts the initial state of equilibrium in a narrative (Ochs 1997:197). Longacre calls this key event the "inciting moment" which breaks up in some manner "the planned and predictable" (1983:21). In the subsequent narrative, every effort is made to return to the original state of equilibrium.

The Evaluation is "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at" (Labov 1972:366). Thus, while the Evaluation is one of the most important aspects of a narrative, it is nonetheless an ambiguous concept. Whereas Abstract, Orientation, Complicating actions, Result and Coda are elements on the structural level, Evaluation involves a qualitative level. The narrative has to be worth telling; social values necessarily play an important role in the narration of these events and, the narrator demonstrates the importance of an event and his own judgment about what is happening through Evaluation. As I mentioned above, narratives must present unusual events in order for their hearers to find them worth listening to. A story teller will always try to avoid the potential question of the addressee: "So what?" The Evaluation indicates why the story was unusual, amusing, frightening, why telling it was worth-while, and often outside authorities, who figure as characters in the story, may provide this validation (Labov 1972:366). Especially when a personal experience is recounted as a narration embedded in a surrounding talk, the validation that provides evaluation is crucial (Schiffrin 1995a).

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Van Dijk (1975) however, in his discussion of narrative structure, considers the narrative categories that he labels as Evaluation and Moral as optional. For Van Dijk, narratives are constructed of three obligatory categories:
1)Exposition (comparable to Labov's Orientation); 2) Complication (Labov's Complicating actions); 3) Resolution; and two optional categories: 4) Evaluation; 5) Moral (comparable to Labov's Coda). Van Dijk calls the categories 1, 2 and 3 "macrocategories" (1975:291; see alsoVan Dijk 1992:154). Macrocategories include descriptions of actions and of state. Under van Dijk's definition, Evaluation expresses the attitude of the narrator, in terms of how he experienced the events in the narrative. The Moral links the story to the present situation (Van Dijk 1975).

Labov (1972) points out that Evaluations may appear in different ways, in that they are not restricted to clauses, as discussed below, and they can appear in the narrative at different points; in fact, they may pervade the entire narrative. The fact that Evaluation can permeate a narrative testifies to its importance. Evaluation appears everywhere, from the Abstract (which overlaps in scope with the Evaluation), through the Orientation and Complicating actions (overlapping in scope once again with the definition of the Result or Resolution), and even appearing in the Coda. Whenever an Evaluation occurs in a narrative, the action of the narrative is to some degree suspended, and the addressee is made aware of the importance of the moment for the further development and the point of the narrative. Labov (1972), emphasizing the evaluative function of a narrative, mentions several different types of evaluations, which may appear in narratives.

Three of these evaluation types are relatively salient and effective at suspending the action of the narrative. For "external evaluation", the narrator interrupts his narration

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and makes some narrative-external evaluative comment to the addressee before continuing the narration, e.g., "...and it was the strangest feeling because you couldn't tell if they were really gonna make it..." (Labov 1972:371). With the embedding of evaluation, the narrator comments on the events as if he were a character in the story. He can quote himself, address another character in the narrative, or have another character - often times an authority figure such as a police officer whose evaluation would be generally accepted - evaluate the situation, e.g., "But that night the manager, Lloyd Burrows, said, "You better pack up and get out.." (Labov 1972:372). Finally, with "evaluative action", the narrator can also express his evaluation by telling what the character did after the events instead of what the character said, in the manner of the cliché "actions speak louder than words", e.g., "I never prayed to God so fast and so hard in my life!" (Labov 1972:373).

In addition to the three discourse-based evaluations, Labov proposes four lexical and grammatical types of evaluative elements each including several subtypes:
1) "intensifiers," e.g., deictics, quantifiers, repetitions, and ritual utterances;
2) "comparators," such as negatives, use of future, questions, imperatives, superlatives and comparatives; 3) "correlatives," e.g., progressives; and 4) "explicatives," e.g. subordinate clauses introduced by 'while', 'although', 'because' (Labov 1972:378-393).

Evaluations often appear most intensively at or around the peak of the story. Longacre is particularly eloquent on narrative peak and mentions that a discourse peak is most generally formally marked in some way in a text (1983:xvii). Some of the characteristics of peaks which Longacre mentions are: "rhetorical underlining," where

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the narrator uses extra words so that the addressee will not miss the point of the story; "concentration of participants" or a "crowded stage," where often all the participants are present at the peak; "change of pace," indicated by variation in length of clauses or sentences; the use of an "explicitly quoted embedded discourse," which is often the role of the validating authority mentioned earlier; and "change of vantage point and/or orientation," vantage point being the point from which readers or hearers view a story, that is, through whose eyes we see the other characters (Longacre 1983:26-35). Section 4.3.1 and 4.4 will be concerned with the approach of focalization, which addresses the point of view from which a story is considered. Longacre's work helps to round Labov's sketch of story structure.

The Result or Resolution following the Complicating actions and Evaluation answers the question: "What happened finally?" Either the troublesome situation has been solved by the character, or it continues to exist, or something else has happened.

The Coda signals the end of the narrative, e.g., "And that was that" (Labov 1972:365). Codas thus have "the property of bridging the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative proper and the present. They bring the narrator and the listener back to the point at which they entered the narrative" (Labov 1972:365). In a Coda, the narrator may mention how the events affect him, which is categorized as one aspect of Evaluation. In Van Dijk's somewhat different view, he sees the effects which the events have on the narrator as part of the Evaluation (1975; see Van Dijk's Evaluation above). Sometimes a Coda may also include some extra information, which is not related to the story.

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Labov proposed the above mentioned division of a narrative based on his analysis of a single elicited corpus of oral narratives of personal experience. In my analysis of the Nanzi stories I will show, how Labov's divisions can also be applied with some success to those stories. While Labov explored the development of a narrative by considering the different clauses in the narrative and the manner in which those clauses are grouped together and ascribing specific functions to each of the groups of clauses, another approach to the analysis of clauses is taken by Halliday (1997), which I will discuss in the following section.

2.2.2 A Functional Approach to Halliday's Consideration of the Clause

Halliday considers the different functions of the clause as it is used in human language. The clause can be interpreted as conveying a message consisting of two parts: the "theme" and the "rheme," comparable somewhat to "topic" and "comment" (see section 2.3). The theme is "the element which serves as the point of departure of the message: it is that with which the clause is concerned" (Halliday 1997:37). The rheme is "the part in which the theme is developed" (Halliday 1997:37). The clause can also function to express an exchange, which includes speech functions of giving and demanding and the responses to those messages. The third function of the clause is the "experiential function," as a representation of our "inner" and "outer" experiences (Halliday 1997:106). It is this last function which will be taken into consideration for my analysis of characters in sections 4.5-4.5.2.

The clause thus has an experiential function. As active beings, we are aware of actions and happenings around us and we relate one experience to another. Those

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experiences are integrated in a schema or frame, which organizes certain experiences into a subsystem of knowledge (see section 2.1.2 and 2.3). Together, these experiences form part of our dynamic reality of the world as we perceive it. Halliday (1997) proposes that this perception of what happens in the world around us is best represented by processes. Processes are expressed in grammar by clauses which contain noun and verb phrases and, prepositional and adverbial phrases. Consideration of transitivity in the clause identifies the participants in each process. A process includes three components:

1). the process itself, realized by the verbal group;

2) Participants in the process, realized by the nominal group;

3) Circumstances associated with the process, realized by the adverbial group or prepositional phrase (Halliday 1997:107).

There are six processes, of which three are main processes: the Material, Mental and Relational process. Between those three processes lie three other processes which share characteristics with the process at each side: the Behavioral process, which lies between the Material and Mental process; the Verbal process, between the Mental and Relational process; and, the Existential process, which lies between the Relational and Material process (Halliday 1997:107). I will first discuss each process, along with its characteristics and participants.

1. The Material process is a "process of doing" (Halliday 1997:9). One participant does something; he/she is the "Actor" in the process, e.g. "The lion sprang". The Actor can also do something to another participant, which is the "Goal" in the process, e.g. "The lion caught the tourist" (Halliday 1997:110). The participant to whom or for

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whom a process takes place is called the "Beneficiary", as in "She sent her best wishes to John.". In some processes, the doing may be involuntary; the Actor in this case may be considered to be the goal in that he/she is only a participant affected by the process: "The tourist collapsed" (Halliday 1997:111; Toolan 1995:113). In other processes, a participant may be causing an action (although not deliberately) and at the same time be affected by the action: "John wrecked his car" (Toolan 1995:113). In meteorological processes, the clause only consists of a process; there is no participant, e.g. "It's raining" (Halliday 1997:143). This process lies on the borderline between the Material and one of the following processes, the Existential process (see below).

2. Mental processes are processes of sensing. They include clauses which express perception (seeing, hearing etc.), affection (liking, fearing etc.) and cognition (thinking, knowing, understanding etc.). The participant, called the "Senser," has to be human or human-like. What the Senser feels, thinks or perceives is the "Phenomenon" (Halliday 1997:117).

3. Relational processes are processes of being. "Being," however, is not used in the sense of existing, but as a relationship between two entities. There are three Relational processes: 1) Intensive; 2) Circumstantial; 3) Possessive. Each process includes two different modes: a) Attributive and b) Identifying. In the attributive mode, a quality, the "Attribute," is ascribed to an entity, the "Carrier." The entities in this process (examples a) below) cannot be reversed. In the identifying mode (examples b) below), one entity, the "Identified," is identified by another entity, the "Identifier." Whereas entities in the attributive process cannot be reversed, the identifying mode does allow the reverse of the participants.

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1) Intensive: 'x is a', e.g. a) Sarah is wise; b)Tom is the leader.

2) Circumstantial: 'x is at a' (or: x is in, on, for, with, about, like), e.g. a) The fair is on a Tuesday; Penelope looked like an angel. b) Tomorrow is the 10th;

3) Possessive: 'x has a'. e.g. a) Peter has a piano; b) The piano is Peter's

(Halliday 1997:119)

4. Behavioral processes are processes of physiological and psychological behavior, e.g. breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring. Some Behavioral processes are close to other processes, e.g. bodily postures and pastimes such as sing, dance, sit up, lie down approach material processes. There is only one participants in the Behavioral process: the "Behaver."

5. Verbal processes are processes of saying. The participant who does the saying is the "Sayer." The Sayer can be a human being but also an object, as in "The guidebook tells you where everything is" (Halliday 1997:140). Three other participants may appear in this process, 1) The "Receiver" is the addressee, and the range of verbs used in this type of process include " convince, explain, show, promise, vow" (Halliday 1997:145). The addressee can also be considered the "Beneficiary" as in "John said to Mary/imparted the news to Mary" (Halliday 1997:145). 2) The "Verbiage" which includes what is said, e.g. "Can you describe the apartment for me?" (Halliday 1997: 141), in which "the apartment" is the Verbiage. Quoted or reported speech, however, is not "verbiage"; it does not belong to the Verbal process. 3) The "Target" is the entity which is aimed for by the process of saying. Verbs, such as "praise, insult, flatter, blame, critize" appear in this type of process.

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6. Existential processes express that something exists or happens. In English, these processes include the word "there," as in "Has there been a telephone call?" (Halliday 1997:142). Often the verb "be" is used in this type of process, but also related verbs such as, "exist, remain, occur, take place" or verbs which are preceded or followed by a circumstantial element of time or place, such as "follow, ensue, sit, lie, hang, and emerge." There is one participant in this process, the "Existent," which is the object or event which exists, stands, flourishes, etc.

Halliday thus proposes six different types of clauses as they are expressed in human language, with the expansive goal to present "a mental picture of reality" (1997:106). Labov considers clauses mainly as subunits of a narrative, which together recapitulate past experiences that "(it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov 1972:360). The recounting of past experiences can also be considered, in a somewhat restricted fashion, as the representation of our reality or the manner in which we perceive the world. Halliday considers the entire scope of clauses as they are used in human language to be important. Labov however, takes the narrative into consideration, and specifically only considers the narrative clause with a temporal conjunction as the backbone of a narrative, grouping different clauses together in order to discuss their importance for the development of a narrative and its relation to the outside world through Evaluation and Coda. Halliday classifies the different types of clauses as processes so that he can get an insight in how humans understand the world around them and their inner world and how they express these worlds. Whereas Labov does not discuss the content of the clauses in detail, Halliday includes in his discussion of the clause a large range of possible elements

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which may be contained within the clause. Thus we can compare the fine grained analysis of clauses by Halliday with Labov's analysis of larger units of discourse as well as Halliday's interest in clauses as expressions of the language-user's internal/external world with Labov's interest in clauses as building-blocks of narrative, some of which connect with the larger world. Labov's analysis of the clause is useful for the determination of the structure of the Nanzi stories in my analysis. Halliday's fine grained analysis of clauses can partially be applied to the analysis of characters in the Nanzi stories.

In this section I discussed the clause as discourse unit from two different perspectives, those of Labov (1972) and Halliday (1997). In the following section I will combine these theories with the other theories discussed in the preceding sections, in order to determine which concepts I will use for my analysis of the Nanzi stories.

2.3 The Episode as Discourse Unit

In order to understand the structure of a text, we considered the clause as one of the subunits of a discourse, as discussed in section 2.2. An alternative way to look at the discourse units which together form the overall structure of a discourse is the consideration of a larger subunit, the episode. Van Dijk (1982:179) defines an episode as "a sequence of sentences ....with marked beginning and end and some conceptual unity." Paragraphs in written language also conform to this definition. However, Van Dijk makes a distinction between a paragraph and an episode, by considering the episode as a semantic unit and the paragraph as its surface manifestation (Van Dijk 1982:177).

Of course the concept of paragraph is a byproduct of writing, but it is often based on overtly expressed oral evidence. An episode has a marked beginning and end. In spoken

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discourse, participants know by native-speaker intuition when an episode begins and when it ends. Pauses, raised pitch in the first clause or, expressions of hesitation may mark the beginning of a new episode and thus the ending of the last episode in many languages, such as English (van Dijk 1982:181; also see Yule 1993:101). Other languages use linguistic markers, lengthening of vowels or other features to indicate the end of an episode. For example, in Tojolab'al, a Mayan language, the clitic *=tak* 'anyway' optionally indicates the end of the discourse of one participant, thus signaling the turn for the other participant (Brody 1989:25). In Teco, another Mayan language, repetition may mark episode boundaries: *w-0-ee-tzun t-e tiiyo koneejo o-0-x-iky* (Tio conejo exited, he left) (England 1987:530). In both written and spoken language, determining the boundaries of an episode is complex. Each language uses its own narrative devices to indicate those boundaries, but the advantage of the phonological elements is generally unavailable in written narrative, unless they have been particularly transcribed from the oral language to include those features (Du Bois 1991 in Schiffrin 1994; Tedlock 1983 - see also section 2.1.1). Most languages use multifunctional words or optional particles to demarcate discourse units. In English, a new episode may be introduced by different linguistic markers which indicate a change of time or place. New characters may be introduced by an indefinite article and old characters may reappear with a full noun phrase. Also when a new event or action takes place, this may signal the beginning of a new episode (van Dijk 1982:181). In Tojolab'al, the word *najate7* 'long ago' and heavy use of the clitic reportative particle = *b'i* 'it is said' designate the beginning of a Mayan folktale (Brody 1986:4). Episode endings may also be marked by

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some device. Longacre (1983: 295) mentions that in the Fore language of Papua New Guinea the final verb marks the end of an episode. As I will show in chapter 3, the beginning of most of the episodes in the Nanzi stories are indicated by markers of temporal orientation. At the same time, the first sentence of many episodes in the Nanzi narratives also include markers of place orientation.

Linguistic markers, or discourse markers, may indicate the beginning and end of an episode, but episodes also have some conceptual unity, as van Dijk's (1982) definition indicates. The episode as a semantic unit is composed of a sequence of propositions which are coherent and which contain important actions or events of one or more characters within a time frame and/or a definite space within the discourse. Generalizing the concepts included in those propositions leads to a macro-proposition, which covers part of the episode or the entire episode. Macro-propositions however, are subject to certain constraints; only those macro-propositions which include important incidents or non-stereotypical events and which have a special function (narrative for example) are considered to denote an episode (Van Dijk 1982:192). In a story about a party, for example, preparatory actions such as "leaving to go to a party" are not considered episodes in van Dijk's sense, because they are only part of a larger action, which is the party. However, if some person gets drunk at the party and his drunkenness causes a car accident after the party, this incident is considered an episode which has a narrative funtion (cf. Labov's Complicating action) (van Dijk 1982:192). The episode then could be classified under a macro-proposition, such as "drunkenness causes accident."

Each discourse consists of several levels of macro-propositions, organized under a higher level proposition, or a macro-structure, "a semantic representation of some kind,

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viz a proposition entailed by the sequence of propositions underlying the discourse (or part of it)" (Van Dijk 1992: 137). Language users form a macro-structure based on a "frame," which is "a subsystem of knowledge about some phenomenon in the world" (Van Dijk 1992:135). A "frame" is similar to "schema" (see section 2.1.2). Humans relate new experiences to things that happened in the past. Thus they situate these old experiences within a frame which serves as model for present or future events. Associated with the frame is the concept of expectation (Tannen 1993). When new situations occur, people in their native cultural setting can easily anticipate what may happen, because of their shared cultural and situational knowledge. A frame thus forms the basis for a macro-structure. In a text, macro-structures can be expressed as the summary of a discourse; their properties are analogous to those of a topic.

The topic is "what a discourse, a discourse fragment, or a sentence is about" (Renkema 1993:62). However it is often a difficult task to decide what is the topic of a specific sentence or a discourse, and different scholars use the term in different ways (Brown & Yule 1993; Renkema 1993; Van Dijk 1992). Sentence topics may be distinguished by several characteristics: a topic must be definite (vs. a subject which may be indefinite); the topic is a NP rather than a pronoun; the verb does not determine the topic as it occurs with the subject: for example, this is evident in the sentence translated from Mandarin: "That fire (topic), fortunately the fire-brigade came quickly" (Li and Thompson 1976:462; Renkema 1993). Also, Li and Thompson's (1976) investigation of basic sentence structure found that in all the languages they investigated the topic appeared in sentence-initial position and that it was distinguished by morphological

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markers in some of the languages. Li and Thompson concluded that in some languages the subject was the prominent constituent in the sentence, but in others it was the topic which was salient. Therefore, they classified the languages of their study: 1) subject-prominent languages (such as the Indo-European languages); 2) topic-prominent languages (such as Chinese); 3) languages which were both subject-prominent and topic-prominent (such as Japanese and Korean); and, 4) languages which are neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent; subject and topic cannot be differentiated (such as Tagalog). In English, a subject-prominent language, the basic sentence structure includes subject and predicate, as in: "Betty peeled the onions" (Chafe 1976:27). Topicalization however, can be achieved by placing the topicalized constituent in clause-initial position, as in: "As for the pláy, John saw it yésterday" (the stress mark ´ indicates emphasis on that syllable; Chafe 1976:49). This last sentence includes two foci of contrast. "The pláy" is taken from a list of possible theatrical performances and combined with "yésterday" which also belongs to a list related to possible dates for the performance. The topic in this sentence, which is "the play," is "given" information. That is, the speakers supposes or knows that this information is recognized by the addressee. However, the comment on the topic "yesterday" is "new" information which opens the possibility to further discussion.

Discourse topics, however, depend on other criteria. Van Dijk (1992) suggests that a discourse topic may be determined after identification of an individual or an object and all the sentences or phrases referring to that individual and that object. But, analysts may propose different topics for a text, according to their interpretations of the discourse.

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Renkema therefore decides that the discourse topic depends on the intuitions of the analyst (1993:65). Brown and Yule suggest that topics can be identified by determining the point where topic shifts take place (1993:94). Based on these topic shifts, the text can be divided in subunits and the topic for each subunit can be determined. Thus, if we follow Brown and Yule's suggestion, we first consider the discourse markers in a text and then decide which are the topics for the different subunits.

Discourse markers are "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1988:31; see also discussion of linguistic markers above). They serve to organize the discourse; they introduce a topic and mark the end of a topic or a conversation (Stenström 1994). In spoken English, for example, "oh, well, and, but, I mean" function as discourse markers. In written discourse, markers of time or place change or, changes of characters introduced by an indefinite article may mark the beginning of a new episode and the end of the preceding episode (Van Dijk 1982). Discourse markers have meaning on many levels. An adverbial expression such as, "the next morning" may be an indication of time at the sentence level, a temporal indicator on the discourse level and a discourse marker on an even more global level. Discourse markers are optional which makes them confusing for basic analysis; they may be individualized or idiosyncratic, and they can take a variety of forms. After consideration of the different discourse markers in a text we may make conclusions about the topic for each specific sequence of sentences and then decide what the macro-structure for that chunk of discourse is.

The organization of parts of a narrative arranged as macro-propositions, to which a topic or macro-structure can be assigned, enables the reader or listener of a story to

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retain the pertinent information throughout the episode (van Dijk 1982; Tomlin 1987). Macro-propositions may be expressed at the beginning or end of a text by a topical sentence. A topical sentence stands out by its special grammatical status because it cannot be connected by "and" to the following sentence. For example, "Fairview was dying. In the past it had been a go-ahead, prosperous little town" (Van Dijk 1992:150). Other macro-propositions, however, are related to each other by connectives such as, "but," "however,"etc. Coherence between macro-propositions can also be achieved by reference which implies the use of a pro-form or demonstrative which refers to an earlier mentioned fact, for example: "Fairview was defeated. You could see it in the shabby houses" (Van Dijk 1992:151). It is thus important that the propositions are connected in order to form a semantic unity so that the reader understands who the referent is in any given episode.

As an example, I present one of the shorter Nanzi stories, story 17: "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" (Compader Nanzi and Cha Tiger). Note that this story has the same title as the sample story which I use for my proposal of narrative structure (chapter 3) and character analysis (chapter 4). Nonetheless, it is important to note that these are actually different stories. I will first consider the linguistic markers of time and place in the story in order to decide where each episode begins and ends; then I will determine the topic of the episode and propose a macro-structure for the propositions included in that episode.

There are nine indicators of temporal orientation in the narrative. Four of them appear at the beginning of a sentence: 1) *un atardi* 'one afternoon' in (sent(ence)2; 2) *di ripiente* 'suddenly' in sent.2; 3) *mesora* 'immediately' in sent.6), 4) *den un fregá di*

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wowo 'in an instant' in sent.23; three of the indicators of time occur at the beginning of a dependent clause: 1) *ora* 'when' in sent.5; 2) *ora* 'when' in sent. 15; 3) ***mientras*** 'while' in sent.19, one temporal indicator occurs in a dependent clause after a coordinator: ***basta dia kaba*** 'for several days' and, one temporal indicator surfaces at the end of a sentence: ***te dia di awe*** 'until the present day in sent.25. Those markers which only serve as markers of time orientation I will label as "temporal indicators." Markers which are temporal indicators but also function as markers which define the beginning and end of an episode are considered to be discourse markers. Thus, the following discussion will explain which of the nine temporal indicators mentioned above can also be considered as discourse markers, and the reason why I classify them as such.

Episode 1. Sentence 1.

(1) *Un atardi Nanzi a sali for di mondi, kaminda el a bai buska algu di kome* 'One afternoon Nanzi came out of the forest, where he had been looking for something to eat'.

Discussion of episode 1.

The narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" is introduced by the temporal indicator *un atardi* 'one afternoon', which is followed by background information in sentence 1. *Un atardi* thus initiates the first episode, which contains only one sentence. The sentence includes a main and a dependent clause. The main clause provides information about Nanzi's location, the dependent clause expresses his purpose of being there. *Un atardi* introduces an episode and can thus be considered as a discourse marker. The macro-structure for this sentence thus can be: In search of food in the forest.

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Episode 2. Sentences 2-5.

(2) *Di ripiente el [Nanzi] a mira Cha Tiger ta bini den su direkshon* 'Suddenly he [Nanzi] saw Cha Tiger coming in his direction'. (3) *Cha Tiger tabatin hamber, pasobra basta dia e no a logra haña pida karni* 'Cha Tiger was hungry, because for several days he had not succeeded in finding a piece of meat'. (4) *Baba tabata basha for di su boka* 'Saliva was running out of his mouth'. (5) *Nanzi su kurason por a para ora el a mira Cha Tiger ta lembe boka asina* 'Nanzi's heart nearly stopped when he saw Cha Tiger licking his mouth like that'.

Discussion of episode 2.

In sentence 2 a new character is introduced: Cha Tiger: (2) 'Suddenly he [Nanzi] saw Cha Tiger coming in his direction'. Although the main clause contains the pronominal referent *el* 'he' which refers anaphorically to Nanzi who was mentioned in sentence 1, *di ripiente* 'suddenly' can be considered as being a temporal indicator and as a discourse marker introducing a new episode, because the clause introduces a new character, which is the object of the perception verb *mira* 'to see'. The tiger, described in the clause *ta bini den su direkshon* 'coming in his direction'. is seen through the eyes of Nanzi. Cha Tiger is further described in sentence 3 and 4: (3) 'Cha Tiger was hungry, because for several days he had not succeeded in finding a piece of meat'. (4) 'Saliva was running out of his mouth'. The dependent clause in sentence 3 explains why Cha Tiger was hungry. It does not include a new event or a new character. Therefore, the temporal indicator cannot be considered as a discourse marker. In sentence 5 we see the tiger again through Nanzi's eyes: (5) *Nanzi su kurason por a para ora el a mira Cha*

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Tiger ta lembe boka asina 'Nanzi's heart nearly stopped when he saw Cha Tiger licking his mouth like that'. This sentence contains the temporal indicator *ora* 'when'. This temporal indicator however, cannot be considered to be a discourse marker because it connects two clauses which describe two nearly simultaneous physiological actions: Nanzi sees and his heart nearly stops. With sentence 5 the description of Cha Tiger ends and Nanzi's awareness of Cha Tiger's state of mind then can be regarded as the end of this episode. Sentences 2-5 can thus be considered as a semantic unit under the macro-structure "Nanzi's fear of Cha Tiger." Those sentences cover the second episode in this narrative, introduced by the temporal indicator *di ripiente* 'suddenly'.

Episode 3. Sentences 6-8.

(6) *Mesora a pasa den su sintí ku ta un triki so por skap'é* 'Immediately it went through his mind that he could only escape him with a trick'. (7) *Nanzi a saka un kareda, kore bai na un renbak bieu ku tabatin den kunuku, pone man n'e i kuminsá grita: "Cha Tiger, Cha Tiger, bini, bin yuda mi!* (8) *Renbak ta kai"* 'Nanzi began to run, he ran to an old water tank which was in the field, grabbed it and began to shout: "Cha Tiger, Cha Tiger, come and help me! (8) The water tank is falling."'

Discussion of episode 3.

Sentence 6 begins with the temporal indicator *mesora* 'immediately' which also serves here as a discourse marker. The sentence describes Nanzi's reaction to the negative thoughts he carries towards Cha Tiger: (6) 'Immediately it went through his mind that he could only escape him with a trick'. This sentence thus predicts that the following discourse will include a trick. Sentence 7 expresses the first actions of Nanzi

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in the development of his plan. He runs to an old water tank, grabs it and begins to shout: '"Cha Tiger, Cha Tiger, come and help me! (8) The water tank is falling."'

Until this point a tension has been building up in the narrative. First, the temporal indicator and discourse marker *di ripiente* 'suddenly' alerted the reader that something was about to happen. Then, the description of Cha Tiger: hungry, saliva running from his mouth, licking his mouth, presented a frightening tiger. After that, we read that Nanzi needed a trick to escape his adversary. The tension then is heightened in sentence 7 and 8 when Nanzi shouts to Cha Tiger for help because the watertank is (supposedly) falling. This point in the narrative is critical. Cha Tiger can react by responding actively to the situation or ignoring Nanzi's plight. But, there is also the danger that Cha Tiger who is physically powerful may devour Nanzi, the tiny spider. Nanzi as a trickster however, is extremely cunning and has therefore power over Cha Tiger at this moment. We understand that something is going to happen with the water tank, because we were made aware of Nanzi's intentions to trick Cha Tiger. Because of this crossroad in the narrative, I propose that sentences 6 - 8 refer to episode 3 and that the macro-structure "formulation of trick" covers this episode.

Episode 4. Sentences 9-18.

(9) *Cha Tiger a kore yega i puntra: "Ta kiko ta pasando?"* 'Cha Tiger came running and asked: "What is happening?"' (10) *"Bo no ta mira ku e renbak aki ta bai kai?"* '"Don't you see that this water tank is falling?"' (11) *"Ten'e lihe"* '"Quickly hold it."' (12) *Cha Tiger a dal man wanta e renbak* 'Cha Tiger stretched out his hand to hold the water tank'. (13) *Nanzi a sigui grita: "E renbak aki ta yen di awa"* 'Nanzi continued to

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shout: "This water tank is full of water."' (14) *"Si e kibra nos tur dos ta hoga miserablemente"* '"If it breaks both of us will drown miserably."' (15) *Cha Tiger su kurpa a kue rel ora el a tende e kos ei, pasobra e tabatin masha miedu di awa* 'Cha Tiger's body began to tremble when he heard that, because he was very afraid of water'. (16) *El a sklama: "Mi no ke muri morto hogá!"* 'He yelled: "I don't want to die from drowning."' (17) *Kompa Nanzi di: "Wèl, sigui wanta e renbak duru"* 'Kompa Nanzi said: "Well, keep holding the water tank tightly."' (18) *"Tòg bo tin masha hopi forsa"* '"You still have a lot of strength."'

Discussion of episode 4.

Sentence 9 expresses the reaction of Cha Tiger, who runs towards the water tank: (9) 'Cha Tiger came running and asked: "What is happening?"' Nanzi uses the situation to underline the (supposed) danger of the situation: (10) '"Don't you see that this water tank is falling?"' (11) '"Quickly hold it."' Sentence 9 thus initiates a discourse between Nanzi and Cha Tiger in which Nanzi tries to convince Cha Tiger of the danger of a falling water tank. The only solution is that Cha Tiger holds the water tank tight.

Cha Tiger indeed reacts exactly as Nanzi has planned: (12) 'Cha Tiger stretched out his hand to hold the water tank'. Nanzi, however, does not seem convinced that Cha Tiger will keep holding the water tank and continues his persuasive discourse to convince Cha Tiger of the danger of drowning: (13) 'Nanzi continued to shout: "This water tank is full of water."' 14) '"If it breaks both of us will drown miserably."' Cha Tiger is frightened: (15) *Cha Tiger su kurpa a kue rel ora el a tende e kos ei, pasobra e tabatin masha miedu di awa* 'Cha Tiger's body began to tremble when he heard that,

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because he was very afraid of water'. Sentence 15 includes the temporal indicator *ora* 'when', but, as in sentence 5, *ora* here forms a connection (subordinator) between two nearly simultaneous physiological actions of the same character: Cha Tiger hears Nanzi's words and begins to tremble. Sentence 15 consists of three clauses. *Ora* could not introduce a new sentence in this instance because changing the punctuation by putting a period after *rel* 'tremble' would result in two new sentences of which the second one is grammatically incorrect. Thus this use of *ora* does not constitute a discourse marker. Sentence 16 explains Cha Tiger's fears: (16) 'He yelled: "I don't want to die from drowning."' Sentences 17 and 18 include Nanzi's reaction to Cha Tiger's fear: (17) '"Well, keep holding the water tank tightly."' (18) '"You still have a lot of strenght."'

Thus, sentences 9 - 18 are concerned with persuasive discourse and can therefore be considered as episode 4. This episode could be classified under the macroproposition: "persuasive discourse". Note however, that the beginning of this episode is not indicated by a temporal indicator serving as a discourse marker as in the other episodes; recall also, that discourse markers are optional. This type of episode, which occurs in an intermediate position between two sequences of episodes, is prominent because of its lack of discourse marker. As I will demonstrate in my analysis in chapter 3, this special category of episode, which I call "Transition Period," has also other characteristics which do not occur in the other episodes of the Nanzi stories.

Episode 5. Sentences 19-22.

(19) *Cha Tiger a primi su kurpa kontra e renbak, mientras e tabata yora: "Ta kon nos ta hasi Nanzi?"* 'Cha Tiger pressed his body against the water tank while he cried:

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"How are we going to do this Nanzi?"' (20) *Nanzi di: "Si bo keda wanta e renbak bon asina, mi ta kore bai buska un mèsla pa bin drech'é"* 'Nanzi said: "If you keep holding the water tank tight like that, I will run and look for a bricklayer to come and fix it."' (21)*Morto di miedu Cha Tiger a bisa Nanzi: "Bai lihe Nanzi, kore mas duru ku bo por, mi ta sigui wanta e renbak"* 'Deadly afraid Cha Tiger said to Nanzi: "Go fast, Nanzi, run as hard as you can, I will go on holding the water tank."' (22) *Nanzi a dirti bai.* 'Nanzi disappeared'.

Discussion of episode 5.

Sentence 19 in the narrative expresses how Cha Tiger has submitted to Nanzi's persuasion by pressing his body against the water tank and asking Nanzi to make a decision. (19) *Cha Tiger a primi su kurpa kontra e renbak, mientras e tabata yora: "Ta kon nos ta hasi Nanzi?"* 'Cha Tiger pressed his body against the water tank while he cried: "How are we going to do this Nanzi?"' The dependent clause of sentence 19 is introduced by the temporal indicator *mientras* 'while' This temporal indicator, similar to sentence 5 and 15, connects two actions which take place at the same time: Cha Tiger presses his body against the water tank and Cha Tiger cries. However, contrary to the temporal indicators in sentence 5 and 15, *mientras* connects one voluntary action of Cha Tiger (pressing his body against the water tank), with the apparently non-voluntary action of crying out of fear. Here, a change in punctuation, i.e. using a period after *renbak* 'water tank' instead of comma would result in a full grammatical correct sentence: *Cha Tiger a primi su kurpa kontra e renbak* 'Cha Tiger pressed his body against the water tank'. This sentence is similar to sentence 12. Consideration of a new

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sentence, beginning with *mientras* 'while' and including the words of sentence 20, is grammatically acceptable: *Mientras e tabata yora: "Ta kon nos ta hasi Nanzi," Nanzi di: "Si bo keda wanta e renbak bon asina, mi ta kore bai buska un mèsla pa bin drech'é."* 'While he cried: "How are we going to do this, Nanzi," Nanzi said: "If you keep holding the water tank tight like that, I will run and look for a bricklayer to come and fix it."' We have here again a situation where the transcription of oral text has obscured the actual break between episodes. In literary conventions we are familiar with the break would not occur within one sentence. Sentence 19 would be separated as a new sentence and a new paragraph. Additionally, sentence 19 includes a second critical point in the narrative. Cha Tiger may not be tricked completely and drop the water tank or, he may drop it because he is panicking. But, he may also hold the water tank tight. Crying, Cha Tiger chooses to press his body against the water tank and he asks Nanzi what they are going to do. Thus, the tiger has already submitted to the persuasive words of Nanzi. Because of these considerations, and because of the sequence that follows, the use of *mientras* in sentence 19 can be regarded as a discourse marker in this instance. Therefore, episode 4 should be understood to end with the sentence "Cha Tiger pressed his body against the water tank," and episode 5 should be considered to begin "Meanwhile, he cried: 'How are we going to do this, Nanzi?'"

Sentence 21 includes the peak of the story, the reason why the story was told: (21) 'Deadly afraid Cha Tiger said to Nanzi: "Go fast, Nanzi, run as hard as you can, I will go on holding the water tank."' The small trickster spider Nanzi is able once again to escape from the dangerous tiger. In sentence 22, Nanzi leaves Cha Tiger: 'Nanzi disappeared'.

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The propositions 19-22 thus involve episode 5 and could be classified under the macroproposition "submission."

Episode 6. Sentences 23-24.

(23) *Den un fregá di wowo el a yega kas seka Shi Maria.* 'In an instant he arrived at Shi Maria's house'. (24) *Nan a hari, pasa masha prèt riba kustia di Cha Tiger.* 'They laughed and had a lot of fun at Cha Tiger's expense'.

Discussion of episode 6.

The tension, built up in the preceding episodes of the narrative, is released in the peak. In this episode, introduced by the temporal marker *den un fregá di wowo* 'in a blink of the eye' our attention is diverted towards Nanzi who arrives at Shi Maria's house: (23) 'In an instant he arrived at Shi Maria's house'. This temporal marker is an initial discourse marker that indicates the beginning of the new episode. Sentence 24 expresses the family's amusement about how Nanzi tricked Cha Tiger: (24) 'They laughed and had a lot of fun at Cha Tiger's expense'. The macro-structure "celebration" could cover both sentences.

Episode 7. Sentence 25

(25) *Cha Tiger mes a keda wanta renbak te dia di awe.* 'Cha Tiger himself has held the water tank until the present day'.

Discussion of episode 7.

The last episode of the narrative consists of a single sentence in which a temporal indicator appears at the end. Sentence 25: 'Cha Tiger himself has held the water tank until the present day'. The temporal indicator *te dia di awe* 'until the present day' also

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serves as a discourse marker appearing here sentence-finally. Because there is a sudden change of focus from Nanzi and his family back to Cha Tiger, sentence 25 is considered as a separate episode. This episode can be compared with the Coda in Labov's division of narratives, because it brings the reader out of the world of the narrative into the present time. The macro-structure of the discourse in sentence 25 could be "Cha Tiger tricked."

As it appears, I divided the narrative in 7 episodes, of which four were introduced by a discourse marker indicating a time orientation; one of the episodes carried a discourse marker of time in the independent clause of the first sentence of the episode; the final episode ended with a discourse marker of time at the end of the episode, which in this narrative consists of a single sentence.

I considered sentences 6-8 as episode 3 based on the analytic dilemma presented by sentence 8: Will Cha Tiger react or not? Sentences 9-18 are concerned with the persuasive discourse of Nanzi and I therefore regarded them as episode 4. However, episode 3 and 4 can also be divided in a different manner. Instead of sentences 6-8, episode 3 may also include sentences 6-11, which describe Nanzi's formation of a plan (sentence 6); shouting for help (sentences 7-8), Cha Tiger's reaction by running towards Nanzi, asking what happens and stretching out his hand to hold the water tank (sentence 9-11). The macro-structure for this episode could be, "Nanzi's plan." Episode 4 then includes sentences 12-18 in which Nanzi tries to convince Cha Tiger of the danger of drowning. The macro-structure "persuasion" could be attributed to this episode.

A third consideration of episodes would regard sentences 6-23 as an entire episode. However, this episode would be too encompassing in relation to the other episodes, even

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when episodes in a narrative do not necessarily need to display the same length as it is evident from the short episodes 1 and 7.

I propose that the first analysis including seven episodes is the appropriate one. Because discourse markers are optional and multi-functional, the decision if a temporal indicator is a discourse marker or not faces several problems:

1) Temporal indicators which demarcate the beginning and end of a chunk of discourse are more easily recognized as discourse markers than temporal indicators which are subordinators and lie between two subordinate clauses. 2) A change of characters between episodes which may also assist in the decision about episodes is not consistent. In this narrative, in three out of the seven episodes there is a change of character: in episode 2, where Cha Tiger appears; in episode 6, where "they" i.e. Nanzi and his family are suddenly mentioned; in episode 7, where the narrative focuses on Cha Tiger alone. In the other episodes there are always two characters present: Nanzi and Cha Tiger. 3) Punctuation, as a result of the transcription of a spoken language, is not always reliable. In spoken language, punctuation which marks the end of a clause or sentence may be indicated by a pause or a raised pitch. When oral discourse however, is transcribed, punctuation may vary from the spoken language and may therefore not be reliable. Therefore, my decisions about discourse markers are based on the following criteria, each of which may appear in the narrative text:

1) Occurrence of new event, which can be classified under new macro-structure;

2) Introduction of new character;

3) Grammaticality of sentence, when punctuation is altered;

4) Two similar sentences elsewhere in narrative text.

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In this section I discussed the episode as a larger subunit of discourse and gave some examples of the application of Van Dijk's theory to a Nanzi story, in order to show how a narrative can be divided into episodes. However, I pointed out that making decisions about episodes and macropropositions in the narrative can sometimes be confusing, because it is not an easy task to determine when a topic shift takes place. Therefore, it is often our intuition which guides us through this confusion, as some authors (Renkema 1993; Van Dijk 1992) propose. In the following section I will combine Van Dijk's approach to discourse analysis with the other theories discussed in the preceding sections, in order to determine which concepts I will use for my analysis of the Nanzi stories.

2.4 Considerations towards Narrative Analysis

In the previous sections I discussed several characteristics of discourse, narrative and story. Although the object of my study is the analysis of a collection of stories, I place them within the broader framework of narrative, as story is only one narrative genre. Another reason why I focus on the narrative is that the approaches which I follow for my analysis are mostly concerned with narratives or a universal approach to story analysis.

I discussed two major approaches to discourse studies, the formalist/structuralist and functionalist approach noting that the distinction between them is not strict, and that some analysts fall between the two approaches in their work. For my analysis of the Nanzi stories I follow in part the structuralist approach, by considering the clause and the episode (which includes a sequence of sentences of a discourse) for the division of a narrative (Labov 1972 and Van Dijk 1982 respectively). Application of these approaches

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results in a proposal for narrative structure, as will be addressed in chapter 3. Halliday's (1985) process analysis, used by Hasan (1989), considers the clause as representation of our experiences in the world around us and our inner world. Consideration of the clause as discourse unit in the Hallidayan sense permits a fine grained analysis of characters in the Papiamentu narratives.

My approach to the analysis of the Nanzi stories is also functional, because I regard the cultural background of a narrative important for its interpretation. For example in the previous section 2.1.3 of this chapter I pointed out that the creation of a narrative can be a communal activity, in which the audience may participate by commenting on events or adding information to the developing narrative. Narratives thus constructed during stressful periods create solidarity. Also, depending on the environment, it may or may not be appropriate to tell a certain narrative. When told on an inappropriate occasion, a narrative may even negatively influence the reputation of the teller. I am convinced that these two aspects played a role in the community of the slaves in Curaçao because, like many other trickster story traditions, the Nanzi stories were considered as a release of feelings about social injustice, as I pointed out in section 1.1 and section 2.1.3.

Different authors suggested different definitions for a narrative: "a large sentence" (Barthes 1975:241); "a discourse unit with a fairly regular structure..." which can be considered separate from the context (Schiffrin 1995a:284); "a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected sequential events" (Toolan 1995:7). From the last definition one of the common elements of a narrative can be deduced, i.e. the event. Events present a "transition from one state to another state, caused or experienced by actors"

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(Bal 1985:13). Characters thus are the second important element in a narrative. Events occur in a certain place, depending on the narrative, and it is the characters who cause and experience changes in that same place. The place where the characters act is the setting which is the third recurrent element in a narrative. Before I further discuss these elements, I will give a short overview of how different authors designate the three main elements of narrative:

Table 2.1 Main Elements of Narrative

Level of fabula:

Propp	action	dramatis persona/character	---
Barthes	action	agent/character/subject	---
Chatman	event	existent/character	story-space and story-time
Bal	event	actor	place and time

Discourse level:

Propp	function	character/ dramatis persona	temporal-spatial determination
Barthes	function (main event) catalysis (minor event)	character	setting
Chatman	kernel (main event) satellite (minor event)	character	discourse-space/ setting
Bal	event	character	space and time

All the authors consulted for this study mention the event as one of the necessary elements of a narrative. For example, Propp (1994) considers the act of the character or the "function" (Propp's equivalent term for event) as the basic component of a narrative, emphasizing its importance for the further development of the narrative.

Barthes (1975) also takes the function or event (in Propp's sense) into consideration for his model for the study of narrative, which he analyzes on three different levels. Barthes, however, divides the function further into "functions proper" and "indices" (1975:246-247). Functions proper are "cardinal functions" or "nuclei," and "catalyses"

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(Barthes 1975:248). Nuclei cause the occurrence of other events later in the narrative. Thus functions have a "seedlike quality" (Barthes 1975:244). Catalyses are minor events and connect two nuclei; they fill in the space between two functions. I will not further discuss indices here, because they are not important for my analysis. Chatman also makes a distinction between the major and minor events in a narrative, which he calls "kernels" and "satellites" respectively (Chatman 1978:53). Both Barthes (1975) and Chatman (1978) propose that nuclei and kernels open alternative paths along which the narrative may develop. The concepts of nuclei and kernels are important in the discussion of the episode as a semantic unit.

Events in a narrative can be expressed in clauses or sentences. Labov's analysis demonstrates the organization of narrative events (Labov and Waletsky 1967; Labov 1972). Some clauses have a fixed position in the narrative, e.g. narrative clauses. Others can be moved to another position in the narrative without changing the semantic interpretation of the narrative, e.g. free clauses. Clauses can be combined in larger discourse units, thus presenting the overall structure of a narrative. These larger discourse units which occur in fully-formed narratives are: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Result and Coda (Labov 1972). Although my proposal for narrative structure will not take into consideration the mobility of the different clauses in the Papiamentu narratives, my analysis will be concerned with Labov' six concepts as mentioned above.

Sentences in a narrative may also be grouped together. A sequence of sentences which form a semantic unit is considered an episode; each episode has a marked

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beginning and end (Van Dijk 1982). An episode thus may include several sentences which refer to a single topic. Barthes' nuclei, Chatman's kernels or Propp's functions may be useful in the determination of the topic of an episode. The concept of topic is complex because it is used at different levels: the syntactic, narrative and discourse level. Topic is defined by different authors in slightly different ways, as I discussed in section 2.3. Renkema, for example, proposes that the topic is "what a discourse, a discourse fragment, or a sentence is about (1993:62). However, readers or hearers may not always agree about the topic for a certain sentence or discourse. Therefore, it is often our intuition which guides us in this decision (see section 2.3). On the narrative and discourse level, topic is roughly equivalent to Van Dijk's macro-structure for a sequence of sentences, as I also discussed in section 2.3.

Because all narratives include events which are changes of state or happenings, therefore, narratives also include a second common element, the character, who brings about the change or to whom something happens. Narrative research has only recently begun to consider the presence of characters in a narrative as essential (see chapter 4). Characters can simply be considered as performing a role, as Propp (1994) suggested; or characters may also be seen as human-like (Bal 1985; Chatman, 1978; Rimmon-Kenan 1983). Therefore what characters do and feel, what they see, where they are, and what they are talking about is important. The world of the characters is projected from the human view of the world, which, according to Halliday (1997) is expressed in clauses. Every clause includes a process which is presented by a verb phrase, noun phrase and adjectival phrase. Also prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases or adverbial subordinate clauses form part of the process.

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But we can also go a step further toward accepting characters as human-like, and consider the relationships (or vectors) between the characters and the reasons for their actions, as King (1992) suggests. We, the readers, infer these relationships from the way in which the narrator presents the world of the narrative to us. The role of the narrator as the representative of the author, was discussed in section 2.1.5. We can also consider the world of the narrative from the point of view of the character, through his words because the narrator can give the floor to a character (Bal 1985; 1991; see also section 2.1.5). This process of focalization will be further discussed in section 4.3.1. Thus, I have devised a way to expose characters in stories which would not be otherwise accessible to the analyst by combining three approaches: 1) Halliday's process analysis and Hasan's application of this approach, 2) King's treatment of characters, and 3) Bal's theory of focalization.

The third key element, the setting of a narrative, which refers to the place and time orientation, places the narrative within its physical and social environment. When we read for example in Nanzi story 2 that the tiger used to live among the people but that they were afraid of him, the reader has already an image of one of the problems of this community in the narrative, which also reflects a problem in the world in which the narrative is told or created.

Therefore, I have considered the common elements in a narrative, which are the events, characters and setting, and I have shown that these can be combined in a narrative into clauses and episodes. Observing the clauses and episodes more closely a detailed picture of the world of the narrative emerges. In order to present this picture, in

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chapter 3, I will propose a narrative structure based on Van Dijk's episodes and Labov's clauses and I will discuss the application of the proposed structure to some narratives of the Nanzi stories in order to prove my theory. In chapter 4, I will present a character analysis based on Halliday's process analysis and Hasan's application of this theory, Bal's focalization and King's story elements. Finally, in chapter 5, I will present my conclusions.

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CHAPTER 3. ANALYSIS: IN SEARCH OF A NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

3.1 Foundation for Narrative Structure

My goal in this chapter is to propose a narrative structure which underlies the 32 narratives which comprise my corpus. The basic format of the proposed narrative structure will be illustrated through the detailed analysis of Nanzi story 2 "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" (Compa Nanzi and Cha Tiger). I chose this particular narrative as my example for several reasons. One is because it includes an outstanding example of verbal action or, persuasion, which is the method by which Nanzi tricks his opponent in many of the 32 stories. Secondly, in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," individual episodes are easily discerned, because most of the episodes are not only introduced by a discourse marker of time but also by a discourse marker of place. In order to arrive at a proposal for narrative structure in section 3.3, I divided the narrative into episodes, based on Van Dijk's (1982) approach to discourse units. I will discuss each episode along with its discourse markers. Third, it is quite clear in this story just how the semantic content of the whole or parts of each episode (see section 2.3) can be classified under a macro-proposition, which can be incorporated into the macro-structure. For Van Dijk's analysis, the macro-structure is similar to the topic of that part of discourse. Consideration of major events in the narrative assists in decisions about what the topic is (as I suggested in section 2.1.4 and 2.3). Section 3.3 will also include discussion of the major events, macro-proposition(s) and macro-structures related to each episode in the narrative. Also in section 3.3 I will compare the structures I found in the story with those that are suggested by Labov's

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(1972) approach to the division of narratives (see section 2.2.1). Because each episode in a narrative has a specific narrative function I will consider how Labov's theory can be applied to Nanzi story 2. In section 3.3, I will pose my own conception of the narrative structure for "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." In section 3.4, I will explain how the basic proposed narrative structure can be applied, with some modifications, to the other stories of my corpus. Finally, in section 3.5-3.5.3, I will discuss the most important transitions which occur in each narrative of my corpus at a specific point during its development.

3.1.1 Narrative Units in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger": Nuclei/Kernels, Episodes, and Macro-Structures

In order to facilitate the reading of the following sections I will present a short synopsis of the narrative (see appendix A for a complete transcription of the text and its translation): "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

Cha Tiger did not use to live in the forest, but among the people. One night, the people discuss the strength of the tiger and their fear of him. Nanzi however remarks, that he is not afraid of Cha Tiger. He even boasts that he will ride the tiger as he would ride a donkey. The people tell Cha Tiger what Nanzi has said. The tiger is furious and confronts Nanzi. Nanzi convinces Cha Tiger that he is very sick and needs to go to a wise man who will cure him. Cha Tiger is even afraid that Nanzi will die. Nanzi uses the situation to trick Cha Tiger into accepting a cushion on his back and a cord in his mouth. Nanzi is aided in this task by his wife, Shi Maria. During the trip through the forest, Nanzi complains, that the mosquitos are bothering him. He grabs a branch to wipe them away. Upon their arrival in the village, Nanzi hits the tiger so hard with the branch that

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the animal runs until he stands in front of the king. At that moment Nanzi shouts: "You see, Shon Arei, Cha Tiger is nothing more than my donkey." The tiger is so ashamed that he disappears in the forest.

In section 2.3 above I discussed the episode as a discourse unit, which can be used to divide a narrative or other type of discourse into several subunits (Van Dijk 1982). For example, episodes may be marked at their beginning by a discourse marker of time and/or place. In "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" both types of discourse markers occur. Episodes, however, are not only indicated by linguistic markers which denote their beginning and ending, but they also contain a semantically coherent discourse to which one or more macro-propositions can be assigned, each of which entails a sequence of propositions (Van Dijk 1992). Therefore, a narrative consists of several episodes which, when combined, constitute the global concept of the narrative. Macro-propositions can be subsumed under a macro-structure, which is identical to a discourse topic. Different readers may identify different topics associated with the macro-structure, depending on their intuition about the discourse in question. In section 2.1.4 above, I suggested that the decision about the topic of an episode may be based either on Barthes'(1975) nuclei or on Chatman's (1978) kernels, labels which both analysts use to identify the major events in a narrative. Major events and the sequence of sentences which elaborate the events or explain them, as part of an episode, can be subsumed under a macro-proposition. In order to have an overview of the different discourse units which Van Dijk, Barthes, and Chatman discuss in their works, I present these units in the following table 3.1. I also include in this table Labov's discourse units (see section 3.2.3).

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Table 3.1 Narrative Discourse Units (Van Dijk, Labov, Barthes, Chatman)

	Largest unit	Organized as		Smallest unit
Van Dijk	Episode	1. Macro-structure	2. Macro-proposition(s)	Major Event
Labov	Sections (6)	1. Abstract	1-6 may include	
		2. Orientation	Narrative clauses	Major event
		3. Complicating Action	and/or	
		4. Evaluation	Free clauses	Minor event
		5. Resolution		
		6. Coda		
Barthes	---	---	---	Nucleus (Major event)
Chatman	---	---	---	Kernel (Major event)

The very division of a narrative into episodes facilitates the reader's memory of the narrative. Van Dijk (1992) mentions that when a subject is asked to reproduce a story, he will usually remember the macro-propositions. However, when recall takes place after a long period of time, it is the macro-structures that most often will be remembered. Based on these considerations, I will first consider the discourse markers of time and place which appear at the beginning of each episode of "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" in order to decide if the segment of discourse which I consider to be an episode indeed forms a semantic unity organized by macro-propositions to which a macro-structure can be assigned.

3.2 Analysis of "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

The narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" includes 18 temporal indicators, 12 of which occur at the beginning of a sentence, five appear within a sentence, and one is expressed at the end of a sentence. I will not discuss every temporal indicator here (in section 2.3 above I discussed how to decide if a temporal indicator can be considered as a discourse marker or not). In this section I will give more attention to the syntactic and semantic hierarchical organization of the narrative.

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In order to arrive at the decision that "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" can be divided into nine episodes, I considered each temporal indicator in the narrative and determined that eight of the 18 temporal indicators can also be regarded as discourse markers of time. Seven of these discourse markers appear in episode initial position, whereas one of the discourse markers of time joins two independent clauses in a sentence. Given the fact that the originally oral Nanzi stories were only later written down, punctuation presents a problem, in that it is a phenomenon of literacy. Often it is difficult to determine whether a structure that was originally spoken and subsequently transcribed is a clause or a sentence, even in a language with a considerate literary history. Therefore, the apparently sentence-internal discourse marker can easily be considered as sentence initial, if each independent clause is considered to be a sentence in itself. I also considered the discourse markers of place, which all appear in the first or second sentence of each episode. Seven of the nine episodes also carry a discourse marker of place, whereas in two instances (indicated in Table 3.2. by [...]), place orientations can be inferred. In addition, I took into account the presence and actions of characters in the narrative in order to determine where changes in the combination of characters took place. Based on these considerations, I determined that "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" is comprised of nine episodes. The following table 3.2. presents the discourse markers of time and place in the narrative, which mark the beginning of each episode. In the following pages I will consider each episode with its discourse markers and its syntactic and semantic organization. I have included both the original Papiamentu text and the English translation in order to illustrate the actual operation of the Papiamentu discourse markers.

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Table 3.2 Discourse Markers in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

Ep. = Episode; Sent.= Sentence;

Ep.	Sent.	Discourse Marker of Time	Discourse Marker of Place
1	1	*Hopi tempu pasá* 'A long time ago'	*den mondi* 'in the forest')
2	4	*Un anochi* 'one night'	*bou di un enorme palu di tamarein* 'under an enormous tamarind tree'
3	24	*Su manisé, bon tempran* 'Very early in the morning'	[in Shon Arei's palace]
4	39	*Mesora* 'Immediately'	*pa kas di Nanzi* 'to Nanzi's house'
5	50	--	*Den un huki di kas* 'In a corner of the house'
6	83	*Ora* 'when'	*den mondi* 'in the forest'
7	88	*Porfin* 'finally'	*for di mondi* 'out of the forest'
8	92	*E ora ei* 'then'	[before Shon Arei]
9	94	*ora...* 'when'	*te den mondi* 'to the forest'

From this table, it is evident, that each episode is initiated by at least one, and usually by two discourse markers (see also the following discussion).

Episode 1. Sentences 1-3:

(1) *Hopi tempu pasá Cha Tiger no tabata biba den mondi, sino kaminda hende tabata biba.* 'A long time ago Cha Tiger did not live in the forest, but he lived among the people'. (2) *Tòg tur hende tabatin masha miedu di dje.* 'However, all the people feared him a lot'. (3) *Apenas nan weta Cha Tiger punta hanchi nan a hui.* 'As soon as they saw Cha Tiger at the end of the alley, they fled'.

Discussion of episode 1. The first sentence describes a state and introduces Cha Tiger, who is mentioned directly after the discourse marker of time *Hopi tempu pasá* 'a long time ago' and referred to indirectly through verbal agreement: (sentence 1) *Cha Tiger no tabata biba den mondi, sino kaminda hende tabata biba* 'A long time ago Cha Tiger did not live in the forest, but he lived among the people'. This first sentence also

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includes a discourse marker of place: *den mondi* 'in the forest'. In the second sentence Cha Tiger is referred to pronominally as: *dje* 'of him' (in 2) and again with his full name Cha Tiger, as object of the verb "see" in sentence (3). Sentences (2) and (3) mainly concern the people and their fear of Cha Tiger: (2) *masha miedu* 'a lot of fear', and (3) *nan a hui* 'they fled'. Two macro-propositions can be proposed for these first three sentences of the story: 1) Cha Tiger lives among the people; 2) Cha Tiger inspires fear. Thus, the macro-structure, or the topic included in sentence 1-3 can be: Cha Tiger inspires fear among the people. Sentences 1-3, therefore, form the first episode in the narrative.

Returning to my discussion in section 2.1.4 above, where I proposed "nuclei" (Barthes 1975) and "kernels" (Chatman 1978) as criteria for decisions about macro-propositions, I will consider sentences 1-3 again and determine which nuclei/kernels appear in those sentences. Nuclei/kernels (section 2.1.4) are major events which have "a seedlike quality" and they "come to maturity" later in the narrative (Barthes 1975:244). Chatman considers them as "branching points" which allow a narrative to develop along different paths (1978:53). Various features, such as a change in tense, may distinguish nuclei or kernels from other type of events (Longacre 1983; see also section 2.1.4). In sentences 1-3, two TMA (tense, mood and aspect) markers appear: *tabata*, which indicates the imperfective past, and *a* used for the preterite and the present perfect. The imperfective past indicates a description of state, or action, such as a setting, whereas the preterite is used for actions. Sentence 3 includes a repetitive action in the past. The action, expressed by the verb *a hui* 'fled' which carries the preterite TMA marker *a* has

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consequences further in the story because people discuss their fear of Cha Tiger and hide in their houses when Cha Tiger goes to Nanzi's house (see Barthes' nuclei, section 2.1.4). Also, at this point the story could develop along different paths (see Chatman's kernels, section 2.1.4). The reader may ask the question: Do people take action against Cha Tiger's overpowering strength or do they live with this fear? Thus, 'they fled' can be considered as a major event. The macroproposition "Cha Tiger inspires fear among the people" includes all the elements of the first three sentences. At this point of the narrative, the reader may pose the question: "What happens next?"

Episode 2. Sentence 4-23:

(4) *Un anochi tabatin un grupo di hende sintá bou di un enorme palu di tamarein.* 'One night a group of people was sitting under an enormous tamarind tree'. (5) *E kòmbersashon tabata bai riba Cha Tiger.* 'The conversation was about Cha Tiger'. (6) *Un di nan di: "Boso sa no, e kompai ei tin masha forsa i mi no ta konfi'é niun tiki."* 'One of them said: "You know, don't you, that compader has a lot of strength and I don't trust him even a little bit."' (7) *"E mester ta kome hopi mes."* '"He must eat a lot himself."' (8) *"Mi tin miedu di dje!."* '"I fear him."' (9) *Un di nan a kontestá: "Ai, bo ta kèns."* 'One of them answered: "Ay, you are crazy."' (10) *"Ta kiko Cha Tiger por hasi?"* '"What can Cha Tiger do?"' (11) *"Blo grita so."* '"He can only roar."' (12) *"Ami sí no tin miedu di dje!"* '" I don't fear him!"' (13) *"Klaro ku e mester ta kome hopi."* '"Of course he must eat a lot."' (14) *"Un kurpa grandi asina mester gasta hopi kos, sino ni kana lo e no por kana di flakesa."* '"A big body like his must use a lot of things, otherwise he will not be able to walk from weakness."' (15) *"Mi ta pusta boso ku mi por*

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sinta riba su lomba meskos ku mi por sinta lomba di kualke buriku." '"I bet you that I can sit on his back just as I can sit on any donkey's back."' (16) *Ma ta ken tabata papia asina di Cha Tiger?* 'But who was talking like that about Cha Tiger?' (17) *Ta Nanzi!* 'It is Nanzi!' (18) *Ai, e hendenan a hari te lora abou.* 'Oh, the people laughed until they rolled on the ground." (19) *Un di nan di: "Abo, Nanzi? Cha Tiger ta supla bo plat abou!"* 'One of them said: "You Nanzi? Cha Tiger blows you flat on the ground."' (20) *Kompa Nanzi a kontestá: "No ta ko 'i loko mi ta papia."* 'Kompa Nanzi answered: "It is not something foolish I am talking about."' (21) *"Boso lo mira."* '"You will see."' (22) *"Mañan mes mi ta kore riba lomba di Cha Tiger."* '" No later than tomorrow I am riding on Cha Tiger's back."' (23) *"Lo e karga mi hiba te seka Shon Arei."* '"He will take me to Shon Arei."'

Discussion of episode 2. The topic of fear reappears in this episode, which is introduced by a discourse marker of time (4) *un anochi* 'one night', and a discourse marker of place (4) *bou di un enorme palu di tamarein* 'under an enormous tamarind tree'. The topic of sentence (4) is *un grupo di hende* 'a group of people'. Further references to the people appear in (6) *un di nan di...* 'one of them said...', (9) *un di nan a kontestá* 'one of them answered', (16) *ken [di e grupo di hende]* 'who [of the group of people]', (18) *e hendenan* 'the people'. Within this episode, Nanzi emerges from the general group of people, through his speech: (9), (16), and (17) *Ta Nanzi!* 'It is Nanzi'. Nanzi is also referred to fully as 'Kompa Nanzi' in (20).

The people sit under the tree to discuss their fear of Cha Tiger: (5) *E kòmbersashon tabata bai riba Cha Tiger* 'The conversation went about Cha Tiger'. One of them said:

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(8) *"Mi tin miedu di dje"* "'I fear him.'" Another speaker, however, overrules this fear by saying (8)*"Ami sí no tin miedu di dje!"* "'I don't fear him.'" The emphatic independent pronoun *ami* 'I' as topic of the sentence expresses the boasting attitude of the speaker, who later is revealed to be Nanzi (16, 17), and who explains in (11) why he is not afraid of the tiger: (11) *"Blo grita so."* "'He can only roar.'"

In this episode, four sentences stand out as including nuclei/kernels: sentence 8 ('One of them said: "I fear him [Cha Tiger]."'); sentence 12 ('One of them answered: "I don't fear him."'); sentence 15 ("'I bet that I can sit on his back just as I can sit on any donkey's back."'), and sentence 22 ("'Tomorrow I will ride on Cha Tiger's back."'). Here we have two instances of near repetitions of spoken language or constructed discourse. One is uttered by one of the people (8) and responded by Nanzi (12). The other is Nanzi (15) repeating his own speech (22). Each of these utterances can be challenged by the other characters and thereby open possibilities for the narrative to develop. The speaker in (8), by saying that he fears Cha Tiger, provokes a reaction which can have two repercussions. People can agree or disagree with the speaker. It is Nanzi who responds, in (12), by asserting that he is not afraid of Cha Tiger and by betting (15) that he will ride on Cha Tiger's back: (15) *"Mi ta pusta boso ku mi por sinta riba su lomba meskos ku mi por sinta riba lomba di kualke buriku"* "'I bet you that I can sit on his back just as I can sit on any donkey's back.'" These two utterances again challenge the people to react. Will they ridicule Nanzi because of his remark or will they accept it as a serious obligation? As it appears, the people don't take Nanzi's bet seriously; instead they roll on the ground laughing (18). Therefore, in (22) Nanzi

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reconfirms his bet: *"Mañan mi ta kore riba lomba di Cha Tiger"* "'Tomorrow I will ride on Cha Tiger's back."' This sentence is followed by: (23) *Lo e karga mi hiba te seka Shon Arei"* "'He will bring me to Shon Arei."' Shon Arei is the authority who will judge the situation, as shown in the next episode. Thus something is going to happen. How will Cha Tiger know about the bet? Is Nanzi really so courageous as to adhere to his bet, or will he renounce it?

Based on the four nuclei/kernels, the propositions of this episode can be classified under two macro-propositions: 1) people discuss their fear of Cha Tiger, and 2) Nanzi bets that he will ride on Cha Tiger's back. Therefore, the macro-structure for sentences 4-24 can be: People are afraid, but Nanzi bets that he will ride the tiger. Because of the semantic unity of sentences 4-24, the temporal marker *un anochi* in (4) can thus be considered as a discourse marker introducing episode 2. At the end of the episode, the reader can pose the question: What happens next?

Episode 3. Sentences 24-38:

(24) *Su manisé, bon tempran, ya Shon Arei tabata sa tur kos.* 'Very early in the morning Shon Arei knew everything already'. (25) *E tabata kurioso pa sa si Nanzi tabatin asina hopi kurashi.* 'He was curious to know if Nanzi had so much courage'. (26) *Riba kaya tabatin hopi hende, ansioso pa mira kiko ta bai pasa.* 'There were a lot of people in the street, anxious to see what would happen'. (27) *Den esei, ata Cha Tiger mes a blo.* 'Suddenly Cha Tiger himself appeared'. (28) *Un di e hendenan a tuma kurashi kumind'é: "Mòru Cha Tiger."* 'One of the people took the courage to greet him: "Morning Cha Tiger."' (29) *Cha Tiger a gruña so: "Grun grun."* 'Cha Tiger only

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growled: "Grr, grr."' (30) *"Cha Tiger, tende un kos akí."* '"Cha Tiger, listen to this."' (31) *Atrobe Cha Tiger a gruña: "Grun, grun."* 'Cha Tiger growled again: "grr, grr."' (32) *"Cha Tiger, Nanzi a hasi bofon di bo."* '"Cha Tiger, Nanzi has made a fool of you."' (33). *Awor sí Cha Tiger a keda para pa e tende ta kiko nan kera bis'é.* 'Now Cha Tiger really stopped to hear what they wanted to tell him'. (34) *Nan a konta Cha Tiger loke Nanzi a bisa:* 'They told Cha Tiger what Nanzi had said'. (35) *"Cha Tiger, Nanzi di ku e no tin miedu di bo."* '"Cha Tiger, Nanzi says that he is not afraid of you."'(36) *"E di ku e ta subi sinta riba bo lomba."* '"He says that he will climb on your back."' (37) *"E di ku bo no tin asina tantu forsa manera nos ta kere."* '"He says that you are not as strong as we believe."' (38) *Ai, Cha Tiger a rabia mashá robes i grita: "Mi ta bai p'e!"* 'Oh, Cha Tiger was very furious and shouted: "I am going to get him."'

Discussion of episode 3. The topic of fear is carried over to this episode. The following temporal indicator (24) *Su manisé, bon trempan* 'Very early in the morning' is also a discourse marker of time functioning to introduce episode 3. The place "in his palace," can be inferred, since Shon Arei is the topic: *Su manisé, bon tempran ya Shon Arei tabata sa tur kos* 'Very early in the morning Shon Arei knew everything already', and 25: *E tabata kurioso pa sa si Nanzi tabatin asina hopi kurashi* 'He was curious to know if Nanzi had so much courage'. Although it is not stated explicitly, all the rest of the events in the episode occur just outside of Shon Arei's palace. The feeling of curiosity is also expressed by the people who become the next topic: (26) *Riba kaya tabatin hopi hende ansioso pa mira kiko ta bai pasa* 'In the street there were a lot of people curious to see what would happen'. Sentences 24-26 thus describe the situation

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at the beginning of this episode, in which events take place in the street around the house of Shon Arei. People are further referred to as (28) *Un di e hendenan* ... 'one of the people'. They also appear as *nan* 'they' in (33) and (34). Cha Tiger makes his appearance in sentence (27) and is referred to repeatedly by his name, Cha Tiger, being the topic of sentences (29, 31, 33, and 38), the beneficiary (34), or as a vocative (30, 32, 35). Cha Tiger is the referent of *e* 'he' only in the dependent clause of (33). Sentences (29, 31, 33) present his reactions to Nanzi's bet: (29) *Cha Tiger a gruña so* 'Cha Tiger only growled'. He growls again in (31). Cha Tiger finally listens to the people, after they tell him what has happened: (32) *"Nanzi a hasi bofon di bo"* "'Nanzi has made a fool of you.'" As a consequence, Cha Tiger becomes very furious and screams: (38) *Mi ta bai p'e* 'I am going to get him'.

The first three sentences of the episode (24, 25, 26) contain background information expressed by the imperfective past *tabata.* There is however a change in atmosphere in the narrative because Shon Arei is curious and the people are anxious to know what Nanzi will do. These sentences thus prepare the reader for the event which is going to take place in (27): Cha Tiger suddenly appears. This sentence asks for a reaction. What happens next? Do the people tell Cha Tiger what happened, or are they too afraid to talk to him? Therefore, the event in (27) can also be considered as a nucleus/kernel. Another major event, expressed as verbal action, occurs in (32) when people tell Cha Tiger that Nanzi made a fool of him. This event marks another crossroad in the narrative: Does Cha Tiger want to hear what Nanzi said or does he ignore it? Later in the narrative the event in (32), is repeated when Cha Tiger says: (53) *"Nanzi, nan a laga sa ku bo a*

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bofon di mi..." "Nanzi, they let me know that you made a fool of me," which reconfirms that (32) is a nucleus/kernel since (53) shows that the seed of the kernel has sprouted. Cha Tiger's furious screaming (38) *"Mi ta bai p'e"* "I am going to get him." can also be considered as a nucleus/kernel because the question arises: What is Cha Tiger going to do? Major events thus appear in sentence 27, 32 and 38. It seems that the reader at the mention of each major event holds his breath because the tension in the narrative is building up and the reader asks himself: What is going to happen? Consideration of the nuclei/kernels in episode 3 leads to three macro-propositions: 1) Cha Tiger appears, 2) People inform Cha Tiger about Nanzi's bet, and 3) Cha Tiger is furious and wants to "get" Nanzi. The three macro-propositions can be further subsumed under the macro-structure: Cha Tiger becomes increasingly angry about Nanzi's bet.

Episode 4. Sentences 39-49:

(39) *Mesora Cha Tiger a tumba pa kas di Nanzi.* 'Immediately Cha Tiger went to Nanzi's house'. (40) *Henter kaminda Cha Tiger tabata grita furioso.* 'The whole road Cha Tiger was roaring furiously'. (41) *Tur hende a kore drenta kas i bai lur na yalusi kiko ta pasa.* 'All the people ran into their house and looked behind the curtains to see what happened'. (42) *Kaya a keda pa Cha Tiger so.* 'The street was for Cha Tiger alone...'. (43) *Nanzi tambe a tende e gritamentu di Cha Tiger ku ora pa ora tabata yega mas seka.* 'Nanzi also heard the roaring of Cha Tiger who steadily came closer'. (44) *El a spanta bira blek.* 'He turned pale from fright'. (45) *Su djentenan tabata bati kontra otro manera ora hende tin kalafriu.* 'His teeth were chattering like somebody who has fever'. (46) *Sodó tabata basha for di su frenta.* 'Sweat poured from his

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forehead'. (47) *Shi Maria no a haña chèns di puntra Nanzi nada, pasobra ata Cha Tiger a bati riba porta di kas manera ta basha e kera basha e porta abou.* 'Shi Maria did not have a chance to ask Nanzi something, because Cha Tiger was already knocking on the door of the house as if he wanted to tear it down'. (48) *Morto spantá Shi Maria a bai habri porta.* 'Deadly frightened Shi Maria went to open the door'. (49) *Cha Tiger a pusha Shi Maria un banda i kana drenta.* 'Cha Tiger pushed Shi Maria aside and entered'.

Discussion of episode 4. Again the topic of fear appears, because people hide in their houses when Cha Tiger goes through the street. The first sentence of the episode (39) begins with the discourse marker of time *mesora* 'immediately' and also contains a discourse marker of place *pa kas di Nanzi* 'towards Nanzi's house'. This sentence and the following sentences (40-42) describe Cha Tiger on his way to Nanzi's house *Mesora Cha Tiger a tumba pa kas di Nanzi* 'Immediately Cha Tiger went to Nanzi's house'. This sentence contains a major event, and the narrative can develop in different directions at this point. How is the tiger going to confront Nanzi? Or will Shon Arei stop Cha Tiger? Sentence (39) also indicates that the confrontation will take place in Nanzi's house. Another major event occurs: (43) 'Nanzi also heard the roaring of Cha Tiger...'. Cha Tiger approaches Nanzi's house. How does Nanzi react? Is he awaiting Cha Tiger in the same boasting mood as when he made his bet? Or, is he talking to himself in order to convince himself to become courageous? The answer can be read in sentences 44-47: He turns pale (44), his teeth chatter as if he has fever (45) and sweat is pouring from his forehead (45). Sentences 44-47 thus present Nanzi as a fearful spider instead of a

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boasting one. The narrative has taken a new path and therefore, the event in sentence 43 can be considered as a nucleus/kernel. In (49) Cha Tiger enters the house. This is a moment of great tension in the narrative. How will Nanzi react? Will he try to impress Cha Tiger through even more boasting words? Will he try to flatter Cha Tiger to calm him down? Or will he deny his bet? We just read that Nanzi's initial boasting attitude has changed into a fearful behavior. Cha Tiger can destroy Nanzi in a second. What will happen? The answer lies in the following episode.

For episode 4, the events in (39, 43, and 49) can be considered to be nuclei/kernels. Three macro-propositions can be proposed for the sequence of sentences referring to those events: 1) Cha Tiger, on his way to Nanzi's house, roars angrily; 2) Nanzi is very afraid; 3) Cha Tiger enters Nanzi's house. These three macro-propositions can be integrated into the macro-structure: the furious tiger wants to confront Nanzi who in reality is very scared.

Episode 5. Sentences 50-82:

(50) *Den un huki di kas el a weta Nanzi drumí barika abou ta tembla.* 'In a corner of the house he saw Nanzi sleep on his belly and tremble'. (51) *Ku bos lastimoso Nanzi di: "Kon ta Cha Tiger?"* 'With a mournful voice Nanzi said: "How are you, Cha Tiger?"' (52) *Cha Tiger a gruña: "Grun, grun!"* 'Cha Tiger growled: "grr.grr."' (53) *"Nanzi, nan a laga sa ku bo a bofon di mi i awor mi a bin tende di bo mes boka si ta bèrdè, grun!"* '"Nanzi, they let me know that you made a fool of me and now I have come to hear from you own mouth if it is true, grr."' (54) *Poko poko Nanzi a lanta sinta i e di* 'Slowly Nanzi sat up and said': (55) *"Ami, Cha Tiger, ami aki papia malu di bo?"*

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'"Me, Cha Tiger, I am talking bad about you?"' (56) *"Ta kon hende bibu por ta malu asina?"* '"How can human beings be so bad?"' (57) *"Mundu ta pèrdí."* '"The world is lost."' (58)*"Bo no ta mira kon malu mi ta akí?"* '"Can't you see how sick I am?"' (59) *Nanzi a warda un poko, manera hende ku no por hala rosea drechi, kaba el a sigui papia ku mesun bos lastimoso* 'Nanzi waited a little like somebody who cannot breath properly, finally he continued to speak with the same mournful voice': (60) *Shi Maria kera hiba mi seka Shon Arei, pasobra mi no tin sèn pa kumpra yerba.* '"Shi Maria wants to bring me to Shon Arei, because I don't have money to buy herbs."' (61)*"Aya un hende sabí por weta mi i kura mi."* '"A wise man there can see me and cure me."' (62)*"Ami....ai, mi no por papia mas."* '"Oh, I can't speak anymore."' (63) *Agotá Nanzi a kai riba su barika atrobe i el a keha: "Ami tata di muebe yu."* 'Exhausted Nanzi fell on his stomach again and complained: "Me, father of nine children."' (64) *Cha Tiger a spanta* 'Cha Tiger got frightened'. (65) *El a pensa: "Nanzi ta malu di bèrdè mes."* 'He thought: "Nanzi is really sick."' (66) *"Dios sa no ta muri e ta bai muri"* '"God knows if he is going to die."' (67*) Nanzi a bolbe kuminsá papia: "Cha Tiger abo tin forsa."* 'Nanzi began to talk again: "Cha Tiger you are strong."' (68) *"Bo no por hiba mi seka Shon Arei?"* '"Can't you bring me to Shon Arei?"' (69) *Cha Tiger a haña duele di Nanzi i e di: "Subi riba mi lomba numa."* 'Cha Tiger felt pity for Nanzi and said: "Climb on my back then."' (70) *Pero Nanzi di: "Ai, mi no por, henter mi kurpa ta hasi due."* 'But Nanzi said: "Oh, I can't, my whole body hurts."' (71) *"Laga Shi Maria pone un kusinchi riba bo lomba."* '" Let Shi Maria put a cushion on your back."' (72) *Cha Tiger di: "Ta bon."* 'Cha Tiger said: "Okay."' (73) *Shi Maria a pone un kusinchi riba*

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Cha Tiger su lomba. 'Shi Maria put a pillow on Cha Tiger's back'. (74) ***Ku masha difikultat Nanzi a subi para riba un banki.*** 'With great difficulty Nanzi climbed on a bench'. (75) ***El a pasa man tene Cha Tiger su oreanan, kaba el a laga su kurpa slep baha riba lomba di Cha Tiger.*** 'He gripped Cha Tiger's ears with his hands, finally he let his body slide onto Cha Tiger's back'. (76) ***Nanzi a keda ku su kabes drumí riba garganta di Cha Tiger i e di*** 'Nanzi stayed asleep with his head on Cha Tiger's neck and said': (77) ***Asina mi kurpa lo sakudí muchu i lo mi mester keda tene na bo oreanan*** '"Like this my body will shake a lot and I will have to hold you by your ears."' (78) ***"Mihó pasa un kabuya den bo boka, ya mi tin un kaminda di tene."*** '"Better I put a string in your mouth, so that I have something to hold onto."' (79) ***Cha Tiger a gruña ku ta bon.*** 'Cha Tiger growled that it was okay'. (80) ***Mientras Nanzi tabata suspirá i keha, Shi Maria a pasa un kabuya den boka di Cha Tiger.*** 'While Nanzi sighed and complained, Shi Maria placed a rope in Cha Tiger's mouth'. (81) ***Nanzi a kue e kabuya tene i el a bisa Cha Tiger: "Ban numa, pero poko poko."*** 'Nanzi grabbed the rope and said to Cha Tiger: "Go then but very slowly."' (82) ***Cha Tiger a kuminsá kana masha poko poko mes.*** 'Cha Tiger himself began to walk very slowly'.

Discussion of episode 5. Although this episode is not signalled by the optional discourse marker of time, it does begin with a discourse marker of place ***den un huki di kas*** 'in the corner of the house'. In this episode, a series of events occur at Nanzi's house, whereas the other events of the story take place on the road or in the forest. Episode 5 occupies a special place in the narrative which I will further discuss in section 3.5.1. The tension in the preceding episode, which was caused by the anger of Cha

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Tiger, is also felt at the beginning of this episode. This episode is also unique because it consists almost entirely of speech. Verbal action which appears as a dialogue between Nanzi and Cha Tiger" is extremely important in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," because it is by persuasive discourse combined with trickster action that Nanzi confuses Cha Tiger (see chapter 5). Nanzi pretends to be sick by acting weak, but he also trembles when Cha Tiger enters Nanzi's house. However, it is ambiguous if Nanzi is pretending to tremble or if his trembling is really caused by fear. Nanzi hears Cha Tiger's roaring and turns pale (44), his teeth chatter (45), and sweat pours from his forehead (46). The actions described in (44) and (46) are not behaviors that can consciously be controlled. Thus, it seems that Nanzi is really afraid. However, from this moment until Cha Tiger enters Nanzi's house, Nanzi is planning his trick and therefore his trembling at Cha Tiger's entrance is only pretense.

After Cha Tiger has uttered his first words (53) "'Nanzi, they let me know that you made a fool of me and now I have come to hear from your own mouth if it is true, grr."' Nanzi begins to use his trickster actions, thereby creating a false world: (54) 'Slowly Nanzi sat up...'; (59) 'Nanzi waited a while, like people who cannot breath properly...'; (63) 'Exhausted Nanzi fell on his belly again ...'; (74) 'With great difficulty Nanzi climbed on a bench'. (75) '... he let his body slide on Cha Tiger's back', and (76) 'Nanzi stayed asleep on Cha Tiger's neck ...' Thus Nanzi becomes increasingly active during this episode, but his activity decreases again at the end of the episode. Nanzi shows an initial passive behavior in that he pretends to be asleep. Then Nanzi moves somewhat by sitting up, falling on his stomach, and he even climbs on the tiger's back, but then he lets his body slide on Cha Tiger's back, after which Nanzi sleeps again.

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Nanzi's persuasive discourse (see section 3.2.1) which is uttered with a moaning or complaining voice (51, 59, 63) combines with Nanzi's deceitful passive behavior to change Cha Tiger from the furious tiger he is at the beginning of the episode into a submissive tiger. In this way, the tension initiated by the people's fear and the tiger's anger diminishes during this episode.

Nuclei/kernels in episode 5 are verbal actions of Nanzi and expressions of Cha Tiger's mental reactions (58) *"Bo no ta mira kon malu mi ta aki?"* "'Can't you see how sick I am?"' and (68) *"Bo no por hiba mi seka Shon Arei?"* "'Can't you bring me to Shon Arei?"' Each of Nanzi's questions entails several sentences expressing persuasive discourse. Cha Tiger's reactions are expressed by (64) *Cha Tiger a spanta* 'Cha Tiger got frightened', and (69) *Cha Tiger a haña duele di Nanzi i e di: "Subi riba mi lomba numa"* 'Cha Tiger felt pity for Nanzi and said: "Climb on my back then."' The last sentence expresses that Nanzi's persuasive words reached their goal. Cha Tiger has submitted to Nanzi's request to sit on his back. Cha Tiger still has the option to refuse to move. After sentence 81 however, in which Nanzi says: *"Ban numa, pero poko poko"* "'Go then, but slowly slowly,"' we see that the tiger has become submissive through Nanzi's persuasive words and actions: (82) *Cha Tiger a kuminsá kana masha poko poko mes* 'Cha Tiger began to walk very slowly'. Four macro-propositions can be proposed for this episode: 1) Nanzi plays sick, 2) Cha Tiger is frightened, 3) Cha Tiger feels compassion for Nanzi and allows him to sit on his back, and 4) Cha Tiger goes on his way [to Shon Arei]. The macro-structure "Nanzi persuades the tiger to submit and bring him to Shon Arei" encompasses the semantic content of the four macro-propositions.

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Episode 6. Sentences 83-87:

(83) *Ora nan a yega den mondi Nanzi di: "Ai, asta e muskitanan ta molestiá mi."* 'When they arrived in the forest Nanzi said: "Oh, even the mosquitos are bothering me."' (84) *"Nan ta weta ku mi no tin hopi dia di bida mas."* '"They know that I don't have many days of life left."' (85) *"Cha Tiger, laga mi kita un rama pa mi shi nan for di mi kurpa."* '"Cha Tiger, let me take a branch so that I can chase them away from my body."' (86) *Cha Tiger a keda para, Nanzi a ranka un rama i Cha Tiger a sigui kana.* 'Cha Tiger stopped and Nanzi teared off a branch and Cha Tiger continued to walk'. (87) *Kada bia ku Nanzi zuai e rama, e tabata keha manera ta mashá doló e tabata sinti.* 'Every time that Nanzi waved the branch, he complained as if he felt a lot of pain'.

Discussion of episode 6. The discourse marker of time *ora* 'when' and the discourse marker of place *den mondi* 'in the forest' introduce this episode. Nanzi and Cha Tiger, referred to as (83) *nan* 'they' also appear as, Nanzi (86, 87) and Cha Tiger (85, 86). Reference to Nanzi is made in (83, 84, 85) *mi* 'I, me' where he refers to himself in speech, and pronominally in (87) *e* 'he'. Cha Tiger, however, speaks no more in this episode. Mosquitoes also play a role. They are mentioned as the theme in (83): *e muskitanan* and further referred to as: (84, 85) *nan* 'they'.

The previous episode 5 began with a strong tension because of Cha Tiger's anger and Nanzi's reaction of passivity which could have resulted in Nanzi's death. However, through Nanzi's physical and verbal actions, the tension diminishes during the episode which ends with submissive behavior by the tiger and Nanzi's passivity while sleeping on the tiger's back. In episode 6, however, Nanzi creates a new tension, again through his

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verbal and physical actions. The words "'...even the mosquitoes are bothering me"' (83), and "'...to chase them away from my body"' (85) begin to create a certain tension in the narrative.

The same sentence 85 includes a nucleus/kernel consisting of Cha Tiger's option to either accept or refuse Nanzi's request, when Nanzi says: *"Cha Tiger, laga mi kita un rama pa mi shi nan [e muskitanan] for di mi kurpa"* '"Cha Tiger, let me take a branch to chase them [the mosquitos] away from my body."' The sequence of sentences related to this question can be subsumed under the macro-proposition and macro-structure: Nanzi catches a branch and waves it. Waving a branch to wipe mosquitos away is an active movement which functions to create a feeling of tension.

Episode 7. Sentences 88-91:

(88)*Porfin nan a sali for di mondi.* 'Finally they left the forest'. (89) *Un kantidat di hende tabata pará kantu di kaminda.* 'A large group of people was standing at the side of the road'. (90) *Nanzi a lanta sinta, zuai e rama i dal Cha Tiger asina duru kuné ku Cha Tiger a spanta, saka un kareda te seka Shon Arei.* 'Nanzi stood up, waved the branch and hit Cha Tiger so hard with it that Cha Tiger got frightened and ran until he was at Shon Arei's palace'. (91) *Lenga afó el a keda para dilanti di Shon Arei.* 'With his tongue out of his mouth he stood before Shon Arei'.

Discussion episode 7. This episode is introduced in sentence 88 by the discourse marker of time: *porfin* 'finally' and the discourse marker of place *for di mondi* 'out of the forest'. In (88) Again *nan* 'they' refers to Nanzi and Cha Tiger, who are both mentioned by their name in (90). Cha Tiger is referred to as *el* 'he' in (91). There is one

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major event in this episode, mentioned in sentence 90: *Nanzi ... i dal Cha Tiger asina duru kuné ku* ... 'Nanzi ...and hit Cha Tiger so hard with it that ...'. Thus the macroproposition and the macro-structure which cover the propositions related to this major event, can be: Nanzi hits Cha Tiger. The tension continues to build up as Cha Tiger runs to Shon Arei's palace after being hit by Nanzi.

Episode 8. Sentence 92-93:

(92) *E ora ei Kompa Nanzi a grita: Shon Arei a weta, Cha Tiger no ta mas ku mi buriku!* 'And then Kompa Nanzi shouted: Shon Arei has seen, Cha Tiger is nothing more than my donkey'. (93) *Tur hende a kuminsa grita: "Biba Nanzi, biba Nanzi"* 'Everybody started shouting: "Long live Nanzi, long live Nanzi."'

Discussion of episode 8. The discourse marker of time: *e ora ei* 'then' introduces this episode. The discourse marker of place [there], can be inferred from the previous sentence in episode 7, which ends with the spatial marker *dilanti di Shon Arei* 'before Shon Arei'. All the characters, except Shi Maria are present in this episode. Nanzi is mentioned as Kompa Nanzi in sentence (92). This episode only contains two sentences, both involving speech. Both are nuclei/kernels. After each sentence the reader may ask: What happens next? In (92) Kompa Nanzi shouts: *"Cha Tiger no ta mas ku mi buriku"* '"Cha Tiger is nothing more than my donkey."' In (93) everybody begins to shout: *"Biba Nanzi, biba Nanzi!"* '"Long live Nanzi, long live Nanzi."' The following macro-propositions for this episode can be proposed: 1) Nanzi humiliates Cha Tiger in front of Shon Arei and the people, 2) Nanzi is the hero. The macro-structure for this episode can be: Nanzi humiliates Cha Tiger in front of everybody and becomes the hero.

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Episode 9. Sentence 94-96:

(94) *Cha Tiger a haña masha bèrgwensa ora el a ripará kon Nanzi a nèk e.* 'Cha Tiger was very ashamed when he realized how Nanzi had tricked him'. (95) *El a kore limpi bai, te den mondi.* 'He ran to the forest'. (96) *Ei el a keda te dia di awe.* 'There he stayed until the present day'.

Discussion of episode 9. In this last episode of the narrative, the temporal marker *ora* 'when', which occurs before the dependent clause in 94, can also be considered as a discourse marker, because in this episode a sudden change of focus from Nanzi to Cha Tiger takes place. The one major event and the propositions related to this event occur in (95) *El a kore limpi bai, te den mondi* 'He ran to the forest', and can be classified under the macro-proposition and macro-structure for this episode: The humiliated Cha Tiger disappears in the forest forever.

Considering the totality of the macro-structures in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," the entire discourse can be classified under a single macro-structure, such as: Nanzi's persuasion leads to Cha Tiger's defeat and alleviation of the people's fear. The evidence of macro-structures in the narrative demonstrates that "Nanzi i Cha Tiger" as a global discourse unit can be divided into episodes, each with its coherent semantic structure and demarcated by discourse markers of time and place. Following van Dijk (1992) each episode contains a hierarchical organized discourse unit. The reader chooses the nuclei/kernels which stand out in the discourse and classifies the sentences related to those major events under a macro-proposition. Evidence for this organization and perception includes the fact that macro-propositions are remembered after reading a

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story. As I discussed in section 2.1.4, decisions about isolating nuclei/kernels are not simple and often depend on the intuition of the analyst or the reader. However, the patterns as evidenced over the numerous narratives I have in my corpus, and the knowledge of the culture in which a narrative arises, aids in those decisions. Therefore, I agree with Toolan (1995), who suggests the working of text analysis from the top down (see section 2.1.4) because cultural knowledge and conscientious reading of the story leads towards the choice of nuclei/kernels which play such an important role in the retention of the semantic content of a narrative. Although a reader tentatively produces macro-propositions when reading a sentence or passage, final decisions about macro-propositions and macro-structures, however, can only be made retrospectively (Van Dijk:1992). This makes the process a bottom to top one.

I counted 21 major events in the narrative thirteen of which are verbal actions, initiated by Nanzi, Cha Tiger or the people. Verbal actions occupy an important place in this narrative, because Nanzi tricks his opponent through persuasive discourse after he makes an extremely daring bet. Therefore, in the following section, I will focus on the two verbal actions of betting and persuasive discourse as events in the narrative.

3.2.1 Betting and Persuasive Discourse as Events

When reading "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," two types of verbal actions in the narrative stand out: Nanzi's betting and persuasion. Both of these verbal actions are speech acts which not only say something but also cause a change in the state of affairs (Mey 1994). Betting is a speech act which Searle (1969) classifies as a "commissive" which commits the speaker to perform a certain action. Persuasion can be classified as a

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perlocutionary act which has an influence on the hearer. Speech acts have a locutionary aspect and an illocutionary force. The locutionary aspect is the actual act we perform by uttering words and the illocutionary force is the force that the pronunciation of these words has. The perlocutionary effect is the resultant mind change on the hearer(s). The legitimate performance of speech acts however, involves several conditions, which Searle (1969:54) calls "felicity conditions" and which need to be fulfilled in order to insure that the words uttered by a speaker will have a truth value.

Let us turn to sentence 15 in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." When Nanzi says (15) "I bet you that I can sit on his back as I can sit on any donkey's back," he is not only uttering words (the locutionary act), but his words are considered as a performative utterance through the pronunciation of the performative verb *pusta* 'bet'. The objective of the performative utterance is to perform the action described in the utterance or, in this case, in the dependent clause in (15), that is, to bet. A bet is a contract between two parties. In order for a bet to be valid, the other party must accept the bet, the party who makes the bet should accomplish what he/she promises (Austin 1994). However, in the narrative, the illocutionary force of Nanzi's words does not have the perlocutionary effect it should have, which is that the people accept the bet. On the contrary, the people laugh about Nanzi's bet, thereby violating one of the felicity conditions for a bet, i.e. that the bet is recognized as such and taken up. Additionally, the most important condition for making a bet is not met. This condition states that the utterance which involves the bet must be pronounced in the appropriate circumstances (Austin 1994). In the Nanzi story, people are gathered to discuss their fear of Cha Tiger. Therefore, while the

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environment in which Nanzi pronounces his bet is suitable, the fact that Nanzi is a tiny spider and Cha Tiger is a powerful tiger, constitute a condition under which the people cannot take the bet seriously. Thus, two conditions for Nanzi's bet are not fulfilled: 1) credibility of the action which Nanzi proposes to perform, because Nanzi is small and Cha Tiger is large and fierce, and 2) the people as the other party do not accept the bet as valid since words, such as "I accept" are not pronounced by the people. When Nanzi reconfirms his bet in (22), the people again do not accept the bet, and do not seem to consider it's completion as a serious obligation on Nanzi's part. However, they do not ignore Nanzi's bet either, because the next morning they gather in the street and inform the tiger about Nanzi's words.

The other speech event which takes an important place in the narrative, is persuasion, which is "the attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions or viewpoint of another by communicative means" (Lakoff 1982:28). Nanzi manipulates the conversation most notably in episode 5, in order to confuse Cha Tiger. Once he sees Cha Tiger's emotional reaction, Nanzi continues to lead the conversation in a certain direction and Cha Tiger seems to lack the power to resist. Furthermore, Nanzi does not cooperate with his conversational partner in the Gricean sense, because he is lying when he says: (58) "Can't you see how sick I am?" Grice (1975) stipulates that speakers participating in a conversation are expected to adhere to the Cooperative Principle which, among other rules, includes the stipulation that speakers should not say what they believe to be false. However, because Nanzi is a trickster, his lying has a different dimension than it does for other characters or people in

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usual conversation. A trickster is expected to lie. But in order to conceal his lies, Nanzi speaks at much greater length than could reasonably be expected from so sick a spider, thereby confusing Cha Tiger.

Nanzi thus, is not cooperative when speaking, nor does he follow the idealized rules of conduct which each participant in a human interaction should follow. Rules of conduct include obligations, "establishing how he [the individual] is morally constrained to conduct himself" and "expectations, establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him" (Goffman 1982:49). Nanzi is amoral because he is lying, whereas his adversary, Cha Tiger, responds with compassion to Nanzi's supposed sickness. Cha Tiger, therefore, behaves according to moral standards.

However, by speaking untruthfully, Nanzi is able to persuade the tiger to help him. This is classic trickster behavior: the small, clever trickster defeats the large powerful adversary through clever untruths. Trickery is one of the "functions" or actions of the characters which Propp (1994) proposes for the Russian folktale (see section 2.1.6). In the following section I will consider Propp's approach for the actions or the trickery in the story "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger."

3.2.2 Propp's Functions as Narrative Units

Propp proposes the "function" as the basic component of a narrative. The function is the "act of the character defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action" (1994:21). Propp's functions thus are the major events in a narrative and therefore similar to Barthes' (1975) nuclei and Chatman's (1978) kernels. I mentioned in section 2.1.6 that two of the 31 functions which Propp proposes for his corpus of Russian folktales (functions VI and VII) can also be applied to the Nanzi stories.

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Function VI refers to trickery. It states that "the villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings" (Propp 1994:29). The villain uses persuasion or magical means, but he may also employ other means of deception or coercion. Function VII refers to complicity: "The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy" (Propp 1994:30). In Propp's analysis, the hero allows his opponent to persuade him, and "he [the hero] mechanically reacts to the employment of magical or other means." The hero, for example, may fall asleep by himself so that the villain can reach his goals.

Characters may perform different roles in a narrative, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, and therefore the hero may become the victim and vice versa. In "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," Nanzi initially boasts that he is not afraid, but later he seems to be the victim of fear, and he finally emerges as the hero in the story. Because of the physical difference between Nanzi and his opponent, Nanzi can only become the hero by trickery. As we have seen, Nanzi uses persuasive discourse in this story, because he attempts to change Cha Tiger's intentions and feelings. Nanzi indeed deceives his victim and seemingly takes possession of Cha Tiger's mind. When Cha Tiger at his entry in Nanzi's house expects a boasting spider, he finds instead a seemingly sick spider who confuses him entirely with his moaning voice. Whereas Cha Tiger angrily confronts Nanzi at the beginning of the episode in which the persuasive discourse occurs, at the end of the same episode, the tiger carries Nanzi on his back as if in trance. He walks very slowly and no sound is heard from Cha Tiger's mouth, which contains a cord as a bit for Nanzi to hold. In this way Nanzi causes Cha Tiger to forget the reason for his visit to Nanzi's house, which

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was for confirmation or denial of Nanzi's bet. In addition, Cha Tiger's furious feelings at the beginning of the encounter are the opposite of the compassionate feelings he carries towards Nanzi at the end of the episode. It is evident, therefore, that Propp functions VI and VII, "trickery" and "submission to trickery" can also be applied to the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." Following Van Dijk's division of narratives, both functions occur in the same episode (nr. 5) of the narrative. Labov's division of a narrative places "trickery" and "submission to trickery" in a section which he labels "Complicating actions."

In this section I discussed how "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" can be divided in episodes. The application of Labov's theory to the narrative will be the topic of the following section.

3.2.3 Labov's Clauses and the Narrative

The units that Barthes and Chatman call nuclei and kernels are subsumed within what Labov calls "narrative clauses," which are "temporally ordered clauses," whose position in the narrative cannot be changed. A change in the order of narrative clauses would result in a different story (1972:361). Other clauses, which Labov describes as "free" and "restricted" clauses can be moved over the entire discourse (free clauses) or over part of the discourse (restricted clauses) (1972:362). Therefore, neither free nor restricted clauses could contain the main line of the narrative. Labov (1972:363) understands narratives to follow a pattern where the narrative breaks down into six different sections (see section 2.2.1): 1. Abstract, which states what the narrative is about; 2. Orientation, which identifies the time, place, characters and situation in a narrative; 3. Complicating

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actions, which are the events in the story; 4. Evaluation, which explains why the story was told (Evaluation can be and often is dispersed in a variety of ways throughout the narrative, and Evaluation often appears in free or restricted clauses; 5. Result or Resolution, which states what finally happened, and 6. Coda, which signals the end of the story and brings the reader back to the beginning of the story.

Application of Labov's (1972) approach to "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" results in the following division of the narrative:

1. The Abstract corresponds to episode one, which includes sentence 1-3. The Abstract introduces the problems that will be solved during the development of the narrative. The macro-structure proposed for this episode earlier in this section "Cha Tiger inspires fear among the people," can be considered as expressing this problem. The concept of fear included in this macro-structure may refer to an indirect criticism of social injustice which contitutes part of the shared cultural knowledge among Papiamentu speakers at the time these stories were told. The introduction of fear and judgment into the Abstract section is an illustration of the diffuse nature of Evaluation.

2. The Orientation corresponds to the first two sentences (4 and 5) in episode two (sentences 4-23). It introduces the people, the place where they meet and the topic of their conversation: Cha Tiger.

3. The Complicating actions are expressed in the remaining sentences of episode 2, and in episode 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 (sentences 6-91). Complicating actions explain what happens in the narrative. They include verbal actions, such as the discussion of fear by the people, Cha Tiger's expressions of anger after people inform him about Nanzi's bet, and the

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persuasive discourse of Nanzi; expression of feelings like Cha Tiger's compassion for Nanzi and his consequent submissive behavior; and physical actions, including Nanzi's final action of hitting Cha Tiger. Many of the Complicating actions are verbal actions which take place during the episodes 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7.

4. The Evaluation is contained especially in episode 8 (sentences 92-93). The Evaluation most often occurs at the peak of the story, which occurs in this episode. This can either be the highest concentration of evaluative statements, or the most overt statement of evaluations that have been made explicitly throughout the text. The peak, according to Longacre (1983:25), is "essentially a zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in the preceding and following parts of the discourse. Peak has features peculiar to itself. Routine participant reference may be disturbed." Other disruptions include change in TMA markers, patterns of dialogue, number of participants, or an enhanced description. Of course, not every peak exhibits all of these characteristics.

At the peak in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," it is the only time when all of the characters, (except Shi Maria), are present. All of the attention is directed towards Nanzi, who humiliates the tiger in front of Shon Arei and the people.

5. The Resolution of the story takes place in episode 9 (sentences 94-95). After the peak a sudden change of focus typically occurs. It seems that the whole community is asking itself: Where is Cha Tiger? However, Cha Tiger has disappeared because he realizes how Nanzi has tricked him and he is very ashamed. For Nanzi's community, his disappearance means relief from the fear which they expressed when the narrative began.

6. The Coda is expressed in the last sentence (96) of episode nine. The Coda brings the reader back to the world beyond the story, a world that has been changed through the

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events of the story: *Ei [den mondi] el a keda te dia di awe* 'There [in the woods] he stayed until the present day'. Thus the reader is returned to real-world place and time.

In this section I took Labov's approach to the division of narratives into consideration and applied this theory to the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." In the following section I will combine Labov's approach with Van Dijk's proposal for narrative division.

3.2.4 Event Structure of the Narrative

The following figure 3.1. presents the event structure of the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." The figure represents a combination of Van Dijk's division of narrative elements into episodes with Labov's division into six sections.

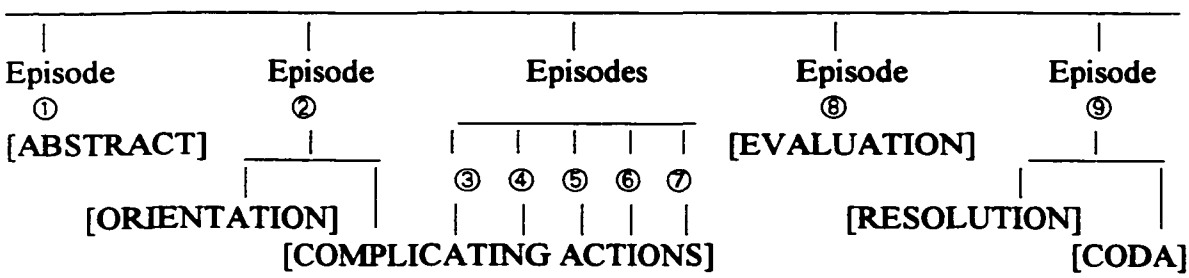

Figure 3.1 Macro-Structure (Event Structure) of "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

From this figure, it is evident how according to Labov's proposal, division of the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" closely resembles the divisions made following van Dijk's suggestions for the division of a narrative into discourse units. Since Labov's structure was developed for orally delivered life stories, it is perhaps not surprising that it corresponds so well to the Papiamentu stories, which were originally delivered orally. It is also very interesting that although the divisions show some minor differences (combination of Labov's Orientation and Complicating Actions within episode 2, and the

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combination of Labov's Resolution and Coda in episode 9), a striking structural similarity is revealed by the analysis following Van Dijk and the analysis using Labov's theory. Based on this figure, and considering episodes, macro-structures, macro-propositions and nuclei/events in the narrative, in the following section 3.3 I will propose a narrative structure for the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" that I will further apply to other narratives.

3.3 Proposal for Narrative Structure of "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

In the previous section I discussed nuclei/kernels, macro-propositions, and macro-structures, which together evidence the presence of a coherent syntactic and semantic organization of the narrative. In section 3.2, I also discussed the occurrence of tension in the narrative which seems to build up during episodes two, three and four, to diminish in episode five, and to increase again during episode six, seven and eight. I therefore propose to consider the macro-structures, as discussed in the previous section, in order to provide an insight into the tension which underlies this narrative and which leads to the final relief of this tension at Nanzi's heroic moment in the peak of the narrative, in episode 8.

Table 3.3 Macro-Structures (Discourse Topics) in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

Episode	Macro-structure
1.	Cha Tiger inspires fear among the people.
2.	People are afraid, but Nanzi bets that he will ride the tiger.
3.	Cha Tiger becomes increasingly angry about Nanzi's bet.
4.	The furious tiger wants to confront Nanzi who in reality is very scared.
5.	Nanzi persuades the submissive Cha Tiger to bring him to Shon Arei.
6.	Nanzi grabs a branch and waves it.
7.	Nanzi hits Cha Tiger with the branch.
8.	Nanzi humiliates Cha Tiger in front of everybody and becomes the hero.
9.	Cha Tiger disappears in the woods forever.

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From this overview of the macro-structures in the narrative, it is evident that the tension increases in the first four episodes, as expressed by the following concepts: fear - afraid - bet and angry - confront. The following episode 5 forms a sharp contrast with the preceding one: persuade - submissive. Tension, although in a lesser degree, increases again in episode 6 and 7: wave it [the branch], hits Cha Tiger with the branch, until the moment of the peak is reached in episode 8: humiliates Cha Tiger - hero.

The fact that there is a tension which increases during the development of the narrative is not surprising because stories have to make a point (see section 2.1.1). Nobody wants to listen to a story which seems not worth listening to, and tension makes a story exciting. The increase of tension can be traced throughout the Nanzi story by considering the macro-structures. However, close observation and a fine-grained analysis of the words which express tension corroborate the findings based on the macro-structures. I will therefore consider again each episode and italize those words which express the tension in the narrative.

Episode 1. (Macro-structure: Cha Tiger inspires fear among the people). Tension in this episode is based on the initial state of disequilibrium in the world of the narrative, which is caused by the fear for Cha Tiger. Words which express the tension are: (2) *masha miedu* 'a lot of fear'; (3) *nan a hui* 'they fled'.

Episode 2. (Macro-structure: People are afraid, but Nanzi bets that he will ride the tiger). The tension continues to exist because of the discussion of fear among the people: *"mi no ta konfi'é"* "'I don't trust him.'" *"Mi tin miedu di dje!"* "'I fear him.'" *"no tin miedu di dje!"* "'I don't fear him.'" This is followed by a bet: *"Mi ta pusta boso ku ..."*

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"'I bet you that ...'"; *e hendenan a hari* 'the people laughed'. The bet, however, is reconfirmed in: *"Mi ta kore riba lomba di Cha Tiger"* "'I will ride on Cha Tiger's back.'"

Episode 3. (Macro-structure: Cha Tiger becomes increasingly angry about Nanzi's bet). The tension increases. Whereas in the beginning of episode 2, the people who were gathering under the tree consisted only of *un grupo di hende* 'a group of people', in episode 3 there are *hopi hende* 'a lot of people' in the street. The fact that Shon Arei *tabata sa tur kos* 'knew everything already' and is curious (*tabata kurioso*), combined with the anxiety among all those people: ... *ansioso pa mira kiko ta bai pasa* 'anxious to see what was going to happen' hightens the tension. The word *den esei* 'suddenly' in the next sentence indicates that something indeed happens which calls everybody's attention: *Den esei, ata Cha Tiger Tiger mes a blo* 'Suddenly Cha Tiger himself appeared'. His appearance causes fear, as can be inferred from the following sentence: *Un di e hendenan a tuma kurashi kumind'é* 'one of the people took the courage to greet him'. People tell Cha Tiger what Nanzi has said: *"...e no tin miedu di bo"* "'he does not fear you'"; *"... e ta subi sinta riba bo lomba"* "'...he will climb on your back.'" The reaction of Cha Tiger is expressed in the description of his state of mind *a rabia masha robes* 'was very furious' and in his vocal reaction: *"Mi ta bai p'e"* "'I am going to get him.'"

Episode 4. (Macro-structure: The furious tiger wants to confront Nanzi who in reality is very scared). The tension in episode 3 is carried over to this episode. The tiger remains furious because: *Henter kaminda Cha Tiger tabata grita furioso* 'The whole road Cha Tiger was roaring furiously'. People continue to fear the tiger: *Tur hende a*

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kore drenta i bai lur na yalusi kiko ta pasa 'All the people ran into their house and watched behind the curtains to see what happened'. The rising tension is very well expressed in: *Kaya a keda pa Cha Tiger so* 'The street was for Cha Tiger alone'. The story then focuses on Nanzi's fear: *El a spanta bira blek* 'He turned pale'; *Su djentenan tabata bati kontra otro...* 'His teeth were chattering...'; *Sodó tabata basha for di su frenta* 'Sweat poured from his forehead'.

Then, the moment arrives in which the tension reaches its culminating point. Cha Tiger not only shouts furiously, but also acts as a furious tiger: ... *a bati riba porta di kas manera ta basha e kera basha e porta abou* 'was already knocking on the door of the house as if he wanted to tear it down'. Shi Maria does not only share her fear with the other people, but she is even deadly scared: *Morto spantá Shi Maria a bai habri porta* 'Deadly frightened Shi Maria went to open the door'.

Episode 5. (Macro-structure: Nanzi persuades the submissive Cha Tiger to bring him to Shon Arei). In this episode, we expect the fear and anger, which was expressed in the first four episodes, to culminate in a violent confrontation between Nanzi and Cha Tiger. However, the opposite reaction occurs, because the tension diminishes in this episode. The deceitful behavior of Nanzi, who trembles and acts weak and who through his speeach confuses the tiger causes the change of tension in this episode. Nanzi's manner of speaking influences Cha Tiger's sentiments towards Nanzi: *Ku bos lastimoso* 'with a mournful voice'; *ku mesun bos lastimoso* 'with the same mournful voice'; *"...mi no por papia mas"* "'... I can't talk anymore."'; *el a keha* 'he complained'; ... *Nanzi tabata suspirá i keha* 'Nanzi sighed and complained'. In order to fully develop his trickster

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actions, Nanzi reinforces his whining speech through lingering and passive actions: *Poko poko Nanzi a lanta sinta* 'Slowly Nanzi sat up'; *Nanzi a warda un poko* 'Nanzi waited a little'; *Agotá Nanzi a kai riba su barika* 'Exhausted Nanzi fell on his stomach'; *Ku masha difikultat Nanzi a subi para riba Cha Tiger su lomba* 'With great difficulty, Nanzi climbed on a bench'; *Nanzi a keda ku su kabes drumí riba garganta di Cha Tiger* 'Nanzi remained asleep with his head on Cha Tiger's neck'. Nanzi's speech and deceitful behavior are truly persuasive, because they change Cha Tiger's intentions and feelings. The anger of the tiger, expressed by his growling at the beginning of the episode, changes into fright, then into pity which leads to Cha Tiger's agreement to carry Nanzi on his back. His weak reaction when asked to accept a pillow on his back: *Ta bon* 'okay' shows how his anger has decreased, and finally Cha Tiger's voice disappears; he does not talk anymore but begins to walk slowly. However, in the following episodes 6, 7, and 8 a new tension develops, which results in Nanzi's humiliation of the tiger and the final release of tension by the people of Nanzi's community.

Episode 6. (Macro-structure: Nanzi grabs a branch and waves it). Tension in this episode is expressed in the following words: *"e muskitanan ta molestiá mi"* "'the mosquitoes bother me"'; *"mi no tin hopi dia di bida mas"* "'I don't have many days of life left"'; *"pa mi shi nan"* "'... so that I can chase them away..."'; *kada bia ku Nanzi a zuai e rama* 'every time that Nanzi waved the branch'; *e tabata keha* 'he complained'; *masha doló* 'a lot of pain'.

Episode 7. (Macro-structure: Nanzi hits Cha Tiger with the branch). The tension expressed in the previous episode is intensified by the presence of *un kantidat di hende*

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'a large group of people' who were standing at the side of the road (*pará kantu di kaminda*). Nanzi's actions in this episode have an entirely different character than his actions in episode 5. From a passive spider, Nanzi changes into an dynamic victor, whose actions increase the tension: *Nanzi a lanta sinti, zuai e rama, dal Cha Tiger asina duru...* 'Nanzi sat up, waved the branch, hit Cha Tiger so hard...' The transformation of the strong tiger to a miserable frightened one *Cha Tiger a spanta, saka un kareda, lenga afo,...* 'Cha Tiger became frightened, ran, with his tongue out of his mouth...' assists in increasing the tension.

Episode 8. (Macro-structure: Nanzi humiliates Cha Tiger in front of everybody and he becomes the hero). This episode expresses the most intense moment or peak of the story: the victory of the tiny spider and the defeat of the powerful tiger. Nanzi shouts to Shon Arei, All the people shout to Nanzi, praising him as the hero: *"Biba Nanzi, biba Nanzi."* Shon Arei looks at Cha Tiger; Cha Tiger who everybody feared is compared to a donkey. The moment of the peak is very intense because all the people and the highest authority, Shon Arei, are present; people applaud, thereby releasing their tensions. Thus there is a crowded stage (Longacre 1983), a noisy environment, and a feeling of release. Because of the special characteristics of the peak, I will discuss them further in section 3.5.2).

Episode 9. (Macro-structure: Cha Tiger disappears in the woods forever). Several words in this episode explain how the problematic situation in episode 1 (fear of Cha Tiger), is solved. Cha Tiger returns to the woods where he used to dwell before he came to live among the people: *El [Cha Tiger] a kore limpi bai, te den mondi* 'He [Cha

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Tiger] ran to the forest' and *Ei el a keda te dia di awe* 'There he remained until the present day'.

Episode 5 not only stands out because of the specific discourse (persuasion) by which Nanzi tricks his opponent, but also because it contains the highest frequency of speech. In addition, it deviates from the other episodes because it is not introduced by a discourse marker of time, but only by a discourse marker of place. Also, in this episode, a character which is not mentioned in the other episodes is brought up: a wise man. As I discussed above, the rising tension in episodes 2, 3 and 4 diminishes in episode 5 before it rises again in episode 6, 7 and 8. Therefore, episode 5, because of its characteristics which differ from the other episodes, indicates a transition from one period of rising tension to another period of rising tension. For this reason, I will call this episode: "Transition Period" and I will further discuss it in section 3.5.1.

Based on the considerations of episodes, each with its own discourse structure and taking into account the tension in the narrative which rises, then diminishes and rises again, I propose the following figure as the representation of the narrative structure for "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

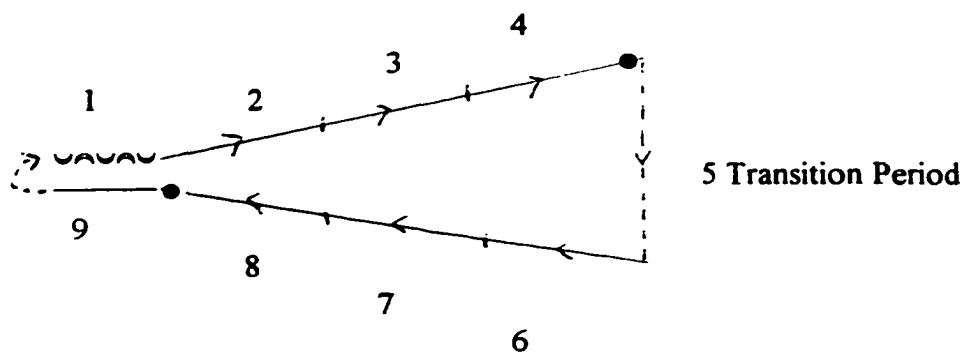

Figure 3.2 Narrative Structure for "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

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Figure 3.2. demonstrates that the narrative begins with an initial state which resembles the final state in every way except for those changes created in the story. My analysis above shows that the story moves from a disequilibrium (fear of Cha Tiger in episode 1) to final equilibrium (disappearance of Cha Tiger in episode 9). The increase of tension in episode 2, 3 and 4 is indicated by the rising line and arrow. The interrupted line in episode 5 symbolizes the diminishing tension in the episode as well as its transitional quality. The rising line and arrows indicating episode 6, 7 and 8 indicate the new increase of tension. The straight line for episode 9 expresses a return to equilibrium and the arrow which joins episode 9 and episode 1, forms a connection between the end of the story to the beginning, which is expressed in Labov's Coda, the return to the real world (see section 2.2.1).

Figure 3.2 also includes two additional points, represented by dots, one of which appears just before the Transition Period and the other point at the end of episode 8. They are at the top of each rising line with arrow, which represents increase in tension. These points refer to those moments in the narrative where the increase of tension reaches its highest point. The tension in the entire narrative, although interrupted by the events in the Transition Period in episode 5, culminates in the Peak in episode 8, as I discussed before. However, in episode 4, before the Transition period, a moment occurs which is extremely important. The tension has been building, and a confrontation between Cha Tiger and Nanzi seems inevitable. Something has to happen. Without a confrontation between the two main characters, the story would end without anything of importance having occurred. The story has not yet made its point. During an oral

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presentation of the same story, the storyteller would raise his voice or use other devices to underline the importance of this moment in the story. In the written version, however, we can only rely on the words in the text and the structure of the narrative to express this importance. At the end of episode 4 we read how Cha Tiger has knocked on the door as if he wants to tear it down. Shi Maria is deadly frightened and Cha Tiger enters the house. At this point the storyteller would probably include a short pause in his speech to make the moment of tension linger. Therefore, I will call this moment in the narrative: Point of Suspense. A sudden change of focus of participants and location from the people and the road to the corner inside Nanzi's house and Nanzi in his passive state of sleeping follows the Point of Suspense in the following episode episode 5. A precisely parallel progression occurs in the rise of tension in episodes 6-8, with episode 8 containing the second Point of Suspense, or the Peak, the most important moment in the story, which ultimately leads to the Coda, and the restitution of equilibrium.

In this section I proposed a narrative structure for "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" based on episodes (which depend on macro-structures) and the tension which is noticeable in the story. In the following section I will consider the application of the proposed narrative structure to the other Nanzi stories of my corpus.

3.4 Proposed Narrative Structure and Other Nanzi Stories of Corpus

The narrative structure I proposed in the previous section can also be applied to the other 31 stories of my corpus. There is structural difference among the stories, part of which I will account for here. There are also striking similarities. Five of the other stories contain nine episodes as with the sample story. Six others, however, include only five

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episodes, and 13 stories contain seven episodes. One story contains 11 episodes. The other six stories are longer and do not only contain nine or eleven episodes, but they also they include an additional number of episodes (see discussion below). Every story, however, includes a Transition Period which, as I proposed for story 2 (N2), can be recognized by a number of special characteristics, such as dialogue, or the introduction of a new character (see section 3.5).

Several narratives in my corpus are longer and more complicated than "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger." Temporal and spatial indicators are abundant in these narratives, presenting the same difficulties discussed above in determining the different episodes. All of the longer stories stories (3, 10, 20, 23, 28 and 29) follow exactly the sequences of the structure, proposed in section 3.3. Stories 10, 20 and 28 contain nine episodes and three additional episodes. Stories 3, 23 and 29 include eleven instead of nine episodes, and carry three additional episodes. Story 23 has the largest number of episodes, consisting of 11 and five additional episodes. The episodes in all of these longer stories are structured in a fashion that is closely comparable to Labov's Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Actions, Evaluation, and Resolution. The last episode of these six longer stories (3, 10, 20, 23, 28, 29) may or may not contain a Coda. The story may finish with the peak (Evaluation) or with the Resolution which relates what happens after the peak. After the Evaluation or Resolution, however, a second story begins, resulting in a single story actually being a string of stories all written together. Thus, we have a situation where this second story is always introduced by a new Orientation, and consists of three new episodes (or five episodes in story 23). For example, the second story in N3 (see

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table 3.4. for titles), introduced by: *Ma a sosodé ku bestia a bira skars* 'But it happened that the animals became rare', relates a repetition of the actions which occur in the first story. N10 ends with the death of a mysterious man. The second story, whose Orientation is expressed in the sentence, *Pero ainda Nanzi no tabata satisfecho* 'But Nanzi was still not satisfied', expands on what happens after the peak. Nanzi's face changes into a pig's face, after he eats a piece of the man's body.

In N20, Nanzi falls into the lake which indicates the end of the story. However, that episode is followed by a new Orientation: *Ma Nanzi lo no ta Nanzi si suerte no a kompañ'é* 'But Nanzi would not be Nanzi if good luck would not have accompanied him' introduces the new short story relating how Nanzi falls on the back of Koma Turtuga (comader Turtle). Nanzi persuades the turtle to bring him to shore, after which Nanzi cuts her head off.

In N23 Nanzi's nose grows very long after eating red apples from an enchanted tree in a mysterious forest. However, after eating yellow apples from another tree, Nanzi's nose returns to its normal size. When Nanzi is called a thief by a princess who robs him of his possessions, Nanzi decides to punish her and gives some red apples to a servant of the princess. However, not only the princess but also her father and mother eat the apples. Nanzi presents himself as a doctor and cures the princess' parents. The following short story relates a different cure for the princess. Nanzi beats her until she admits her crime. However, her nose remains long because Nanzi only gives her half of a yellow apple.

In N3, the peak (in episode 8 of the first story) is followed by a Resolution and Coda in episode 9. The problematic situation which existed at the beginning of the first story

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(hunger) is solved, because Nanzi, by using persuasive discourse, causes Koma Baka's (Comader Cow's) death and Nanzi's family is provided with food. Later, Nanzi also kills several other animals. Subsequently, the story returns to the initial state of disequilibrium, which is hunger. Then begins a second story, where, in order to obtain food, Nanzi tries the same trick with Kompa Makaku (compader Monkey), but this member of Nanzi's community does not trust Nanzi and argues with him. The result is that Nanzi falls into his own trap. This short additional story can be divided in three very condensed episodes, of which the first contains the Orientation followed by Complicating Actions; the second episode includes only Complicating Actions, and the third episode contains further Complicating Actions, Evaluation and Coda. This second story thus contains a second peak in the Evaluation section. In the Coda, the narrator's voice (see chapter 2) can be heard: *Asina el [Nanzi] a haña su kastigu i muri e morto ku el a preparà pa otro* 'Thus he [Nanzi] was punished and died the death which he had prepared for somebody else'.

The Transition Period in narrative N3 (same story here) does not include persuasive discourse as Nanzi story 2 does, but it expresses one of the characteristics of tricksters: change of appearance. Nanzi dresses in his wedding suit and visits a weapons-dealer, who has the impression that he is dealing with a rich man. It is in this episode that the weapons-dealer is first introduced. As I mentioned before, Transition Periods have their own special features and I will discuss them in more detail in the following section. Whereas the Transition Period in N2 describes an episode with decreasing tension, the transition period in N3 shows an initial explosion of activity, when Nanzi looks for and

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dresses in his wedding suit, but then it slows down, when Nanzi goes to the weapons-dealer and negotiates with him.

3.5 Transitions

In the previous chapter I discussed the event as an action or happening which causes a change to the situation in the narrative. It is the character who causes thoses changes, and it is through the character that the transition from one event to the following event within the narrative takes place. On the grammatical level, deictic references, expressed initially as full names, followed by pronouns anaphorically referring to the character, follow the course of a character in a narrative. In terms of discourse structure, the occurrence of events follow an organized and sometimes repetitive pattern, which leads to the division of the narrative into episodes, as we have seen earlier in this chapter (see also section 2.3). The transition from one episode to another can be signalled by the introduction of a new character, but characters may also be carried from one episode to the next episode, or from one story to the next story in a series. In addition, transitions between episodes may be marked by discourse markers. Discourse markers, however, are both multifunctional and optional (see section 2.3). The Papiamentu text of the Nanzi stories demonstrate that this creole language does not consistently carry a specific particle to indicate an episode boundary, such as it appears in some Mayan languages (section 2.3). In Papiamentu, temporal indicators, and sometimes indicators of space, also function as discourse markers in order to indicate where one episode ends and the next one begins.

Narratives thus contain a sequence of events, syntactically and semantically organized within episodes. As I discussed in my proposal of the narrative structure underlying the

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Nanzi stories, each narrative of the collection contains several episodes, of which one episode stands out because it possesses characteristics which differ from the other episodes. I called this episode "Transition Period" because it forms a transition between one sequence of episodes (mostly two, three, four)) and the following sequence of episodes (also usually two, three, four). In the following section I will discuss the characteristics of the Transition Periods which I propose that the Nanzi stories include.

3.5.1 Transition Periods and Their Characteristics

As I discussed in section 2.1.1, stories contain unusual events, because they have a point to make, which is expressed in the peak. The peak therefore is the most important moment in the story. Before the moment of peak, the story progresses from episode to episode, creating an increasing tension. The tension in the Nanzi stories, however, is always interrupted by an episode which has a different pace of events. I have designated this special episode as Transition Period (section 3.5). Before I discuss the characteristics of the Transition periods in the Nanzi stories, I want to call attention to a point in the narrative which I call the "Point of Suspense."

As demonstrated in my corpus, all narratives include such a point in the last episode before the Transition Period. The narrative text at this point contains a speech act, often a question, or the expression of a dramatic situation, such as death. The Point of Suspense signifies a crossroad that precedes the turning point in the narrative. Not answering the question or considering death as the end of the story, would mean that the story ends without expressing its point. In N12, for example, Nanzi spends all his money without having any income. This creates a tension. Thus one day *Nanzi a weta bòm di su*

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baul 'saw the bottom of his chest'. He felt desperate (*el a sintié desesperá*). Suddenly the devil (Diabel) appears and Nanzi tells him: *"Hòmber, kos ta malu. Mi no sa kiko hasi. Plaka ta kabando"* "'Man, things are bad. I don't know what to do. Money is running out.'" The devil promises to help Nanzi under the condition that Nanzi knows the answer to the devil's question, how long he (Diabel) lives in the world. If Nanzi does not answer correctly, "everything finishes, and the day you die, I will drag you down to hell." Thus Diabel poses Nanzi the question: *"Bo ta aseptá?"* "'Do you accept?'" This question can be answered with yes or no, opening two possibilities for the narrative to develop. However, in the case of a negative answer, the story would finish at this dramatic point. This moment in the narrative can therefore, be considered as a Point of Suspense, which is always followed immediately by a Transition Period.

In N4, the increase of tension in the narrative is also evident from the narrative text. Words such as: *sin un tiki kuminda* 'without a bit of food', *malora* 'bad situation', *mi ta muri di hamber* 'I am dying from hunger', *lo e gaña morto i lo e kome esun ku keda pasa nochi seka dje* 'he would pretend to be dead and he would eat him who stayed at night with him'. These words, expressed in the first three episodes, are followed by Nanzi's proclamation that Cha Tiger has died: *Mesora Nanzi a kue su kachu, subi seru i supla den tur direkshon: "Cha Tiger a muri, Cha Tiger a muri!"* 'Immediately Nanzi took his horn, climbed on the hill and proclaimed in every direction: "Cha Tiger is dead. Cha Tiger is dead!"' The question rises, how the other animals will react. Because of the many different answers to this question, I consider this moment in the narrative as the Point of Suspense.

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In N18, Nanzi is betrayed by his friend Sese, who is caught by Shon Arei's soldiers when they both cut fat from the stomach of one of Shon Arei's cows. As a result, the soldiers catch Nanzi who kicks and screams and tries to give one of the soldiers a butt in his stomach. However, the soldier avoids the kick and hits Nanzi so hard with his fist that *...esei a dal abou. Morto!* '...he fell down. Dead!' What will be the consequences of this fact? Nanzi is the trickster, who is famous for escaping punishment most of the time. Thus it is not unreasonable to pose the question: Is Nanzi really dead? The exclamation "Dead!" is the Point of Suspense for this part of story 18.

In the Transition period following the Point of Suspense in the stories 4, 12 and 18, the story may take one of the two possible directions: 1) the tension built up until that point diminishes or remains the same; 2) the tension continues to rise. In N12, the tension in the Transition Period initially diminishes, because Nanzi enjoys his life, by dancing, eating and drinking, without even remembering the devil. However, when the day of the devil's return comes closer, Nanzi becomes irritable, screams at his wife and children and even screams in his dreams. Therefore, the tension in the Transition Period increases at the end of this transitional episode. In N4, all the animals are going to Cha Tiger's house to mourn his death. Everybody cries in his own way. However, Koma Baka cries so hard that Kompa Raton nearly becomes deaf. Thus the tension in the Transition Period in this story diminishes after the Point of Suspense, but increases again because of one of the character's overly demonstrative behavior.

The Transition Period in N18 relates how the soldiers left Nanzi on the side of the road because they considered him to be dead. However, as soon as they are out of sight,

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Nanzi drags himself home having sustained no more injury than a serious headache, and the next morning he is fit again. Initally the tension remains the same in the beginning of the Transition Period. However, the last sentence of the Transition Period ...*ma su manisé ya el a lanta tánkatan* 'but in the morning he arose very much alive' prepares the reader for new tricky actions of Nanzi, thus creating the beginning of a new period with rising tension.

Transition Periods thus are characterized by a different kind of tension than the rising tension of the preceding episodes. In the narrative text, the tension in the Transition Period may be expressed by a slower pace in the course of the events, which is expressed by the imperfective past (Papiamentu: *tabata*) or through words which indicate a passing of time.

In N6, for example, Nanzi wants to catch Diabel's (the devil's) tail. Therefore, during the Transition Period, Nanzi continues talking to his opponent: *Mientras Nanzi tabata kòmbersá ku Diabel e tabata bati man riba esaki su lomba ketu bai* 'While he was talking to Diabel he gently patted him on his shoulder'. The imperfective past and the word: *ketu* 'gently' in this sentence express a continuous slow action which is interrupted by the hectic action in the following sentence, in which Nanzi catches Diabel's tail.

In N11, Shon Arei orders Nanzi to move an iron block. However, Shon Arei does not allow Nanzi to scream or sing. But, Nanzi would not be Nanzi if he did not invent a trick. Therefore, during the Transition Period, he praises a mango tree in the garden, stretching his words at every effort he makes to lift the iron block, thereby diverting

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Shon Arei's attention. Several adjectives and nouns are stretched: haaaaaaltu (taaaaaaal), buniiiiiita (beauuuutiful), mangooooooo. Nanzi's praise of the tree is similar to a monologue through which Nanzi tries to encourage himself. Several verbs in the Transition Period of this story also express the passing of time: *Nanzi a keda weta...* 'Nanzi remained watching...', *el a pensa* 'he thought', *e tabata rèk e palabra* 'he stretched the word'; *Awor segun e tabata karga e blòki e tabata grita...* 'then as he was carrying the block he was screaming...'.

Another characteristic of Transition Periods is the appearance of persuasive discourse, as I discussed for story 2. In N2 persuasive discourse is used by Nanzi to invoke compassion. Persuasive discourse also appears in the Transition Period in N7, where Nanzi uses his verbal art to provoke the curiosity of a sheepsherder. In the Transition segment of N17 (which I used as an example for my discussion of discourse markers at the beginning and end of an episode), Nanzi provokes fear by using persuasion (section 2.3).

Persuasion is one type of discourse used in a Transition Period. Another type of discourse, such as monologue, can also occur. For example, in N1, Nanzi encounters a person in Shon Arei's garden while he is there trying to steal fruits. The person, however, does not move. As it appears later in the story, the person is actually a tar-baby and Nanzi gets stuck to it, which leads to his ultimate incarceration. Nanzi's conversation with the tar-baby during the Transition Period is necessarily a monologue, because the tar-baby is incapable of responding. Nanzi's monologues can also be expressed as occurring in a dream during the Transition Period. For example, in N12,

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Nanzi speaks in his dream: *"Kiko mi mester hasi? Mi a kai di panchi den kandela"*

"'What should I do? I have fallen from the pan into the fire.'"

Transition Periods can also characterized by changes of appearance, which is a typical trickster behavior, as Hynes (1993) points out. In the Nanzi stories, Nanzi changes his appearance by changing his clothes. For example, in N8, he dresses as a baby and, as we have seen in N3, Nanzi puts on his wedding suit and his hat, presenting himself as a rich client who wants to buy a lance from a weapons-dealer. It is notable that the weapons-dealer is first introduced into the story during the Transition Period. In N7, the sheepsherder is also first introduced in the Transition Period, and N4 introduces all the animals in the Transition period. In N2 Shi Maria is mentioned shortly before and during the Transition Period, but she does not reappear after this episode.

From the discussion above it is evident, that Transition Periods have their own characteristics, which are similar across the corpus of stories. Transition Periods are recognizable by 1) lack of discourse marker of time (in 25 out of the 32 stories of my corpus); 2) a different pace in the course of the events, expressed in the narrative text by the imperfective past or words expressing the passing of time; 3) specific discourse, such as persuasive discourse, monologues, or talking in dreams; 4) a change in the appearance of Nanzi; 5) a change in the cast of characters, such as the introduction of a new character who does not belong to the regular group of characters, or the last appearance of a previously mentioned character.

In this section I discussed the characteristics of Transition Periods in the Nanzi stories. Transition Periods form a connection between one sequence of events and

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another sequence of events, each with a noticeable rising tension. The tension during the Transition Period of a story may diminish, remain the same or slightly increase but the tension built up during the entire narrative leads ultimately to the Peak. In Labov's terms, it would be the point of greatest concentration of evaluative discourse. The Peak can also be considered as a transitional moment in the narrative between the sequence of events which precede the Peak and the events following the Peak (Labov's Resolution and Coda). As it occurs in the Transition Period, the pre-Peak, Peak and post-Peak events also demonstrate specific characteristics.

3.5.2 Peaks, Pre-Peak, and Post-Peak Events

Transitions from one event to another and from one episode to the following episode leads finally to the peak of the story. The peak is the most important moment of the story because it explains why the story was told. Without a peak, a story is not worth telling (see section 2.1.1).

All languages possess some means for marking the peak (Jones and Jones, 1979). Longacre defines peak as "any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features" (1983:24). Among the features which characterize the peak, Longacre (1983, 22-35) mentions: 1) concentration of participants; 2) hightened vividness, caused by, for example, a shift of tense or dialogue; 3) change of pace (length of clauses, sentences or paragraphs); 4) orientation (=perspective, not to be confused with Labov's Orientation): through who's eyes do we view the story?.

In the Nanzi stories, the peak occurs either in the penultimate or final episode of the narrative and it can be marked by a congregation of the characters. In the peak of story 1

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for example, all the people gather when Shon Arei frees Nanzi from prison, after Nanzi's son Pegasaya frightens Shon Arei by singing a threatening song: if Nanzi dies, Shon Arei will also die. As we have seen in N2, nearly every character in the story is present when Nanzi humiliates Cha Tiger.

The length of sentences and clauses at the peak in the Nanzi stories is variable. Many peaks, however, are presented in a long sentence containing several clauses, such as in N18: *Nan a wak pariba, wak pabou i ora nan a mira ku no tabatin ningun hende, nan a laga Nanzi bai* 'They looked up, they looked down, and when they saw that there was nobody, they let Nanzi go'. The peak thus may include several events. It may also be marked by speech. In thirteen of the 32 Nanzi stories, one of the characters utters some words at the peak which articulate the accumulation of tension: (N19) *Trankil asina Nanzi di: "Wèl Shon Arei, ta asina mes. Mi a kòrta e kueru di baka na repi smalitu i kose nan na otro"* 'Quietly Nanzi said: "Well, Shon Arei, that is exactly it. I cut the cowhide in small strips and sewed one to the other."'

The peak is always the moment of greatest tension. The reader or hearer of the Nanzi stories is waiting to learn how Nanzi tricked his adversary, or how Nanzi himself is tricked. The heightened tension before the peak is expressed through the turbulence in the narrative text. The characteristics of pre-peak events in the Nanzi stories are:

1) expressions of shouting or screaming of a single or several characters;

2) violent or dynamic actions, such as running, jumping, stabbing, beating;

3) mental confusion, such as fright, amazement, shame, surprise, mistrust.

In N9, for example, by using a magical formula Nanzi opens the door to Tragabiná's (the snake's) house in order to steal her eggs. Tragabiná catches Nanzi in the act. Nanzi,

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in his confusion uses the wrong words and the door does not open. Therefore, Nanzi *a spanta mashá robes* 'Nanzi got very frightened'; *Nanzi a grita bisa e porta...* 'Nanzi shouted and said to the door...'; *Nanzi a supliká e porta: "Bon dia porta bunita, habri, mi mester sali!"* 'Nanzi begged the door: "Good morning, nice door, open, I must leave."' Finally the door opens and Nanzi escapes his death.

In N6, Nanzi does not trust the Devil and invents a trick to chase him away. Nanzi talks nicely to the Devil, at the same time patting him on his shoulder, so that the Devil trusts Nanzi. Then, suddenly some dramatic violent actions occur. Nanzi grabs the Devil's tail and *a hisa Diabel na laria, zuai e te ora el a tende un kos hasi krak* 'lifted the Devil into the air, swung him around until he heard something cracking'. The Devil's tail breaks and he flies through the roof.

Post-peak events appear in the same episode as the peak or are mentioned in a new episode marked by a discourse marker of time, which sometimes appears at the end of the episode. In Labov's division of narratives, the post-peak episode (or the end of the episode which contains the peak) is the Resolution, because it explains what happens with the character who is tricked and therefore also includes evaluative comments. Also after the peak, most stories include a sudden change of focus from this character to Nanzi who returns to Shi Maria with food or money. At that moment Nanzi can be compared with a spider who attacks his victim and then returns to the middle of his web.

In this section I discussed some of the transitions which occur at the end of the Nanzi stories: the pre-peak, peak and post-peak events. In the following section I will consider the development of the entire narrative and discuss its transition from the initial state of events to the final state.

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3.5.3 From Disequilibrium to Equilibrium through Trickster Actions

Most of the Nanzi stories develop from an initial state of disequilibrium through several sequences of actions to a final state of equilibrium. The initial problematic situation of each narrative is caused by one of the several typical negative factors: 1) Greediness: this negative characteristic of Nanzi occurs in many stories. Nanzi is always greedy for food and nice objects. Therefore he steals fruits, cows, fat from a cow, and jewelry. 2) Hunger: in several stories real hunger forces Nanzi to leave his house in order to obtain food for his famished family. 3) Fear or mistrust. Nanzi fears or mistrusts the tiger and the Devil. He therefore tries to outwit them before they can harm him. 4) Envy: Nanzi envies Shon Arei's belongings. Through trickery, Nanzi causes Shon Arei's death and he takes possession of Shon Arei's wealth. 5) Anger: When Cha Tiger does not share his food with Nanzi as promised, Nanzi takes revenge and kills Cha Tiger. 6) Humiliation: Shon Arei humiliates Nanzi by asking him to perform impossible tasks. Nevertheless, Nanzi outwits Shon Arei.

Only in a few stories can the initial situation be described as satisfying. Kompa Sese, Kompa Kriki (compader Cricket) and Braha Tukema (Brother Tukema) are Nanzi's best friends. However, this fact does not keep Nanzi from playing jokes on his friends Sese and Kriki. Braha Tukema is as lazy as Nanzi, and tries to obtain things without work. In these stories, which begin with a description of friendship, the initial state of equilibrium changes into a negative final state: in N25, Kompa Sese has to run in order to escape Cha Tiger, and in N21 Kompa Kriki dies because of Nanzi's joke (Nanzi advises Kriki to fly in the pan to give a good flavor to the meal).

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Because Nanzi stories are trickster stories, every story contains at least one trick. It is usually Nanzi who tricks the other characters, but in some stories another character, such as Shon Arei or Cha Tiger, tricks Nanzi. Nanzi is so deceitful and cunning that most of Nanzi's victims fall into his trap. Only Kompa Makaku (compader Monkey) does not trust Nanzi and as a result, Nanzi dies in N3 and N14. We have seen what happened in N3. In N14, there is an initial state of equilibrium. Kolebra Barbakiná, godmother of Nanzi's smallest son, always sends food to her godchild. Nanzi misuses the situation and asks Kolebra Barbakiná repeatedly for food without any compensation. Therefore, Barbakiná decides to kill Nanzi. Nanzi tricks Koma Kabritu (comader Goat) and Koma Baka (comader Cow) through persuasion to open the door. Both victims are bitten by the snake which came to bite Nanzi. However, Nanzi cannot persuade Kompa Makaku.

Nanzi uses several methods to tricks his victims, such as 1) persuasion, which can appear in the form of a dialogue (see my discussion in section 3.2.1) or a song, in which Nanzi warns what will happen if Nanzi is not released from prison, or which makes Nanzi's victims fall asleep; 2) magical power, such as a magical formula which opens a door, provides food, or throws his victim in the air; 3) diversion of the victim's attention by building trust through the use of pleasant words, or by calling attention to another object instead of Nanzi; 4) the use of disguise, by dressing as a child, or by playing dead; 5) outwitting the victim, who fails to pay enough attention to Nanzi.

Only in two of the 32 stories of my corpus, does Nanzi die at the end of the story. In the other stories, Nanzi is rewarded: he obtains food, a piece of land, or wealth, or he is

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freed from prison. However, Nanzi does not always convince his victims. At the end of several stories, Nanzi is frightened (N8 and N9), and he is even beaten by Shi Maria and Kompa Sese in N24. He also sometimes remains hungry (N10) or is sad, when his friend Sese dies (N21).

In this chapter, I presented a narrative structure which underlies most of the Nanzi stories of my corpus. I based the proposed narrative structure on the detailed analysis of Nanzi story 2. For my analysis I divided the sample story in episodes, based on Van Dijk's (1982) proposal for the division of discourse. In order to determine if a specific chunk of discourse comprises an episode, the primary reliance is on on linguistic evidence. Each episode in the Nanzi stories is introduced by a discourse marker of time, with the exception of an episode which I call Transition Period. Transition Periods form a transition between a first sequence of episodes in which an increasing tension is noticeable and a second sequence of episodes which contain a new increasing tension. Besides discourse markers of time, Transition Periods are also linguistically marked by words expressing a transition of time or a slower pace in the narrative, by a special type of speech, such as persuasive discourse, and the introduction of a new character which did not appear before. Another consideration in the determination of an episode is the observation of the semantic content for that part of discourse. An episode forms a coherent semantic unity which can be subsumed under a topic or macro-structure in Van Dijk's theory. The determination of macro-structures or topics depends often on the intuition of the analyst or the reader of a narrative. However, I proposed that consideration of the major events in an episode assists in this determination. I therefore

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discussed Barthes (1975) and Chatman's (1978) theories about major events in a narrative.

I also applied Labov's theory about the division of narratives to the Nanzi stories and observed that the division of the Nanzi stories resulting from the application of this theory closely resembles the division following van Dijk's suggestions. Based on these considerations, I proposed a narrative structure for Nanzi story 2 which, as it appears, can also be applied to the other stories of my corpus.

I also discussed the transitions which occur in the narratives, i.e. the episode which I call the Transition Period, which connects a sequence of episodes with a rising tension and another similar sequence of episodes, and the Peak which is a transitional period preceded by turbulence in the narrative and followed by the return to an equilibrium. Finally, in order to have an overview of the narratives in my corpus, and to know who is the trickster and who is tricked in the Nanzi stories, and by which method, I present table 3.4. The number of episodes in which I propose to divide each story is given in parentheses after the title of the relevant story.

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Table 3.4 From Disequilibrium to Equilibrium through Trickster Actions

CT=Cha Tiger; D=Diabel (devil); N=Nanzi; KB=Koma Baka (comader cow); KK=Kompa Kachó (compader Dog); Kkr=Kompa Kriki (compader cricket); KM=Kompa Makaku (compader Monkey); KP=Kompa Porko (compader Pig); KT=Kompa Tiraleu (compader Throwfar); KTu=Koma Turtuga (comader Turtle); KW=Koma Warawara; P=Pegasaya (youngest son of N); SA=Shon Arei; T=Braha Tukema; Tra=Tragabiná; TT=Temekú Temebè.

Number of episodes appear in parenthesis after title. Tr.= trickster Trd.= tricked

Story Title and Number of Episodes	Disequilibrium	Tr.	Trd.	Method	Equilibrium
1. Compa N and the Tarbaby (11)	Greediness	SA	N	Tarbaby	N in prison
		N	SA	Frightening song	SA frees N
2. Compa N and CT (9)	Fear	N	CT	Persuasion	CT disappears
3. Compa N and	Hunger	N	KB	Persuasion	KB dies
Compa Throwfar (11+3)		N	KM	Tries Persuasion	N dies (falls into own trap)
4. How CT fooled N (7)	Hunger	CT	KB	Playing dead	KB dies
		CT	N	Promise of sharing	CT has meal/N only bones
5. How N killed CT (5)	Revenge	N	CT	Playing dead	CT dies
6. Compa N and the Devil (5)	Mistrust/fear	N	D	Words evoking trust	D looses tail
7. How Compa N fooled SA (7)		N	Sheepsherder	Persuasion	Sheepsherder dies
	Envy	N	SA	Persuasion	SA dies/N receives his possessions
8. Compa N plays the role of	Hunger	N	SA	Dressing as baby	SA fooled
a baby (7)		SA	N	Frightening words	SA discovers trick/N flees
9. Compa N and Tragabiná (7)	Greediness	N+Sese	Tra	Magical formula	N+Sese have food
		Tra	N	Frightening	N flees

(table 3.4 cont.)

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Story Title and Number of Episodes	Disequilibrium	Tr.	Trd.	Method	Equilibrium
10. Cha Nanzi and Temekú Temebè (9+3)	Greediness	TT	N	Magical formula	N remains hungry
		P	TT	Counter formula	TT dies
		N	KP	Persuasion	KP gets N's face
11. SA and Compa N (7)	Humiliation	N	SA	Diversion (stretching words)	N rewarded
12. How Compa N tricked the D (7)	Greediness	N	D	Frightening	N receives D's possessions
13. Nanzi's bet (5)	Humiliation	N	2 rich men	Outwitting (speech)	N rewarded
14. N and the snake Barbakiná (9)	Anger	N	KK	Persuasion	KK dies
		N	KM	Tries persuasion	N dies
15. Compa N and Compa Dog (9)	Hunger	N	Sese	Offering help	N takes cows
		N	KK	Offering cows for sale	KK buys cows
		KK	N	Outwitting	N disappears
16. N and Coma Isabel (9)	Greediness	Rats	N+Isabel	Frightening voice	N afraid, but rewarded
17. Compa N and CT (7)	Fear	N	CT	Persuasion	CT cannot move
18. Compa N and Compa Sese (7)	Greediness	N	Soldiers	Frightening Song	N freed
19. SA gives N a piece of land (9)	Poverty	N	SA	Outwitting	N receives piece of land
20. Compa N and Coma Warawara (9+3)	Greediness	N	KW	Making believe that it is daylight	KW wakes up
		N	KTu	Persuasion	N kills KT
21. Compa N and Compa Kriki (5)	Greediness	N	Kkr	Playing joke (speech)	Kriki dies
22. N helps CT to pick avocado (7)	Envy	N	CT	Diversion	N receives food
23. N and the princess (11+5)	Anger	N	SA,queen	Offering magic apples	SA+queen have long nose
		N	SA,queen	N plays doctor	N cures SA+queen
		N	princess	Offering magic apples	Princess keeps long nose
24. N goes selling bean-cakes (7)	Hunger	N	SM	Disguise (mud)	SM rewards N
		SM+Sese	N	Unexpected appearance	SM+Sese beat N
25. N takes CT for a sheep (5)	Hunger	N	Sese	Diversion	Sese frightened

(table 3.4 cont.)

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Story Title and Number of Episodes	Disequilibrium	Tr.	Trd.	Method	Equilibrium
26. Compa N and the spotted cow (7)	Humiliation	N	SA	Diversion	N receives cow
27. Compa N bets with Compa Sese (9)	Envy	N	woman	Diversion	N obtains sheep
		N	woman	Diversion	N obtains turkey
		N	rich man	Persuasion	N obtains money
		N	Sese	Outwitting	Sese pays for wedding
28. How spiders were born in Curaçao (9+3)	Hunger	N	family	Magic pot	N receives food
		N	family	magic stick	Stick beats family which turns into spiders
29. Nanzi's spit (11+3)	Theft	CT	N	Disguise (sheep)	N escapes CT
		N	CT	Disguise (turtle)	N frightens CT
30. Braha N and Braha Tukema (7)	Greediness	N+T	woman	Frightening	N + T have meal
31. Braha N and Braha Tukema with the dead woman (5)	Greediness	N+T	Family of dead woman	Song	N+T steal possessions
32. Big tripes swallow small tripes (7)	Greediness	N	SA	Persuasion	N receives new clothes

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Story Title and Number of Episodes	Disequilibrium	Tr.	Trd.	Method	Equilibrium
26. Compa N and the spotted cow (7)	Humiliation	N	SA	Diversion	N receives cow
27. Compa N bets with Compa Sese (9)	Envy	N	woman	Diversion	N obtains sheep
		N	woman	Diversion	N obtains turkey
		N	rich man	Persuasion	N obtains money
		N	Sese	Outwitting	Sese pays for wedding
28. How spiders were born in Curaçao (9+3)	Hunger	N	family	Magic pot	N receives food
		N	family	magic stick	Stick beats family which turns into spiders
29. Nanzi's spit (11+3)	Theft	CT	N	Disguise (sheep)	N escapes CT
		N	CT	Disguise (turtle)	N frightens CT
30. Braha N and Braha Tukema (7)	Greediness	N+T	woman	Frightening	N + T have meal
31. Braha N and Braha Tukema with the dead woman (5)	Greediness	N+T	Family of dead woman	Song	N+T steal possessions
32. Big tripes swallow small tripes (7)	Greediness	N	SA	Persuasion	N receives new clothes

CHAPTER 4. CHARACTERS IN THE NANZI STORIES

4.1 Approach to Character Analysis

In this chapter I will first discuss how different authors, such as Propp (1994), Chatman (1978) and Bal (1985; 1991), regard the role of characters in narrative (section 4.2). Then, in section 4.3, 4.3.1- 4.3.2, I will focus on the concept of character itself and discuss some of the techniques used in narration to present the characters in narrative. The techniques include the role of the narrator; the approach of focalization, i.e., from which point of view a character is considered (Bal 1985; 1991); and the representation of speech in narrative. Section 4.4 will be concerned with the narrator, focalization and speech in the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger". In sections 4.5, 4.5.1 - 4.5.2, I will propose an analysis of the characters in the same Nanzi story, based on a combination of Halliday's (1997) process analysis and Hasan's (1989) application of Halliday's theory.[1] In the last section of this chapter, 4.6, I will discuss how characters in a narrative are interrelated and how this interrelationship functions as a driving power to create the opportunity for a character to act. Through my discussion of characters in narrative and my analysis of these characters I provide evidence for the view that characters in a narrative are human-like, and that they cannot be considered as simply constituting a role. My final goal in this chapter is to demonstrate that character analysis is a useful and revealing discourse analytic technique, and that it should be considered as a complement to the analysis of events in a narrative.

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[1] Parts of sections 4.2 and most of sections 4.5-4.5.2 were presented at the LASSO Conference in San Antonio, Texas (October 1-3, 1999).

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4.2 The Role of Character in a Narrative

In Chapter 2, I discussed the event as one of the most important elements in a narrative. That events follow a sequence that provides a guiding line through a narrative, is evident from my discussion in chapter 3. Events cause changes in the state of affairs of the narrative (Chatman 1978; see also section 2.1.2): something must happen in order for the narrative to develop. Some events are grouped together in episodes (Van Dijk's approach, section 2.3), or they are combined in sections, consisting of different clauses (Labov's theory, section 2.2), as I pointed out in chapter 3 in my proposal for narrative structure. In a collection of narratives, such as the Nanzi stories, characters, as well as events, may repeat themselves, with variations, through the entire collection. In this manner, one story is connected to the next story, as is the case in the Nanzi stories. Nanzi is a trickster, so every story in the collection of Nanzi stories includes a trick, and the character Nanzi uniquely appears in all of the stories.

Another common element in narrative is character, as I also mentioned in chapter 2. Characters in a story are considered the agents who "either instigate a process or perform an action" (Longacre 1983, 156). A character thus may cause an event to happen; in this case, it is the character who controls the event. Events are often physical acts, for example, in Nanzi story 2 (N2), (sentence) 90: *Nanzi a lanta sinta, zuai e rama i dal Cha Tiger asina duru kuné ku...* 'Nanzi stood up, waved the branch and hit Cha Tiger so hard with it that...'. Not only a character's actions, but also the words a character utters may cause a change in the state of affairs. So when Nanzi says to Cha Tiger (N2, 58): *"Bo no ta mira kon malu mi ta aki?"* '"Can't you see how sick I am?,"'

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his question has a perlocutionary effect (see section 3.2.1), because Nanzi's words influence Cha Tiger's mood. From an angry tiger, Cha Tiger changes into a tiger who fears that Nanzi is so sick that he will die. There are also situations in which characters have no control over the action, and they are only affected by the event. When Nanzi's teeth are chattering from fear because he hears Cha Tiger approaching, this trembling is an involuntary action which influences Nanzi's state of well-being: (N2, 45): *Su djentenan tabata bati kontra otro manera ora hende tin kalafriu* 'His teeth were chattering like somebody who has fever'.

Readers or listeners often relate strongly to characters in a narrative. They compare the experiences of the characters with their own experiences. Readers also form opinions about the relationships between the different characters and the reasons why a character acts in a certain manner. Therefore, it is appropriate to analyze characters in a narrative together with the analysis of events. Until recently, however, narratologists have neglected the study of character and favored the event as the main element of a narrative (Toolan 1995). Their position was based on the formalists' view that characters were subordinate to the plot (Chatman 1978). Formalists and also some structuralists thought that the function of the character, that is, what it does in a story, was the basic component of a narrative or a novel and not the character itself. Other structuralists believe that a character is "an illusion", because it only exists in the imagination of the reader who has formed an image of the character in the narrative or novel based on the actions the character performs (Toolan 1995:91)

The emphasis of event over character has a long history. Propp (1994) dedicated his analysis of the Russian folktale nearly exclusively to the events in the tales, whereas the

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characters in Propp's analysis were simply considered as roles, important only in relationship to the events they initiated or in which they were involved. Whether a character was old or young, male or female, etc. had no importance for Propp, and he recognized only seven basic character roles (1994), as I mentioned in section 2.1.6, including 1) villain, 2) donor, 3) helper, 4) princess, 5) dispatcher, 6) hero, and 7) false hero. Greimas (1966, in Toolan 1995) followed in Propp's steps, and also considered the character in relation to its function in the narrative. Greimas only distinguished six character roles. His classification only includes 1) opponent, 2) giver, 3) helper, 4) object, 5) subject, and 6) receiver.

In the Nanzi stories, however, the reader can observe how Nanzi can be the hero but also the victim in the same story. In chapter 3 we have seen how Nanzi, in N3, at first becomes a hero because Koma Baka, the innocent object, falls for his trick: (N3, 100) *Ku tur su peso el a bai kai nèt riba punta di e lansa* 'With all her weight she fell just on the point of the spear'. Kompa Makaku, however, knows Nanzi's tricks and therefore does not fall into his trap. The story ends then with Nanzi becoming the victim of his own trickery, resulting in his death: (N3, 134) *Nanzi a kai ku tur ku tin riba e lansa ku e mes a pone* 'Nanzi fell with all his weight on the spear which he himself had put there'. Nanzi even takes on the role of a helper in story 4, when he announces Cha Tiger's death, thereby assisting the tiger who wants the animals to believe that he (the tiger) has died: (N4, 17) *Mesora Nanzi a kue su kachu, subi seru i supla den tur direkshon: "Cha Tiger a muri"* 'Immediately Nanzi took his horn, climbed on the hill and proclaimed in every direction: "Cha Tiger is dead."' By playing dead, Cha Tiger plans to eat the

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animals who come to pay their last respects. Thus, the roles that the single character Nanzi can play - even within the confines of one story - are more complex than either Propp's or Greimas' classification will permit. The major role of Nanzi is as the Trickster. The role of trickster is also fulfilled by Cha Tiger in N4 (see section 1.2).

Returning to stories nr. 2, 3 and 4, three different character roles emerge in these stories: 1) hero/trickster, 2) victim, 3) helper, which can be presented as follows:

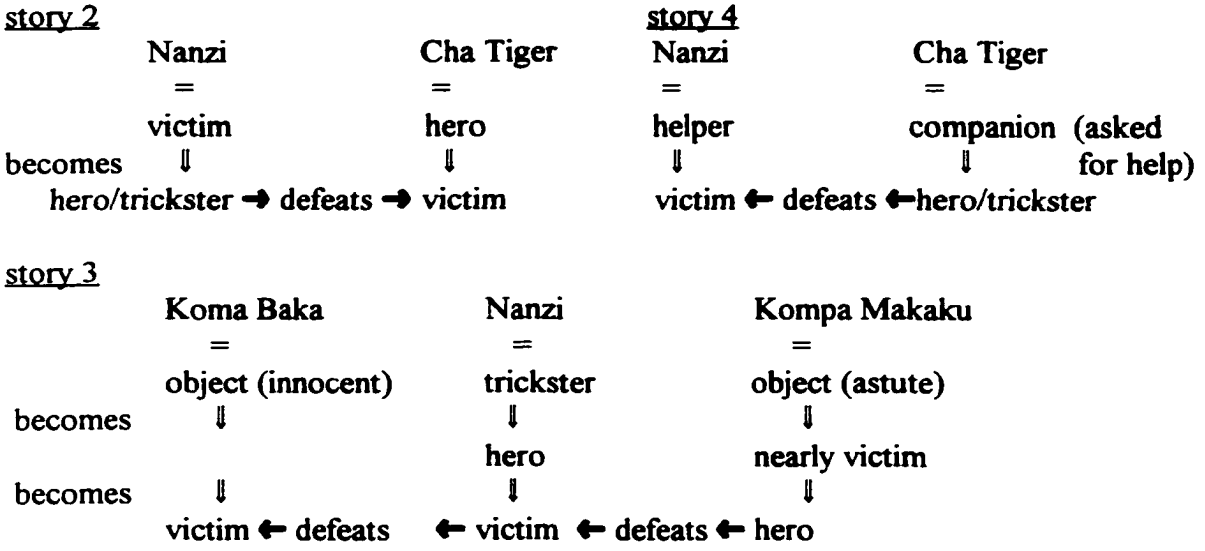

Figure 4.1 Role Scheme Nanzi Stories 2, 3, and 4

However, as will become evident later in this chapter, only Nanzi in his role of trickster is truly unique, because he alone uses persuasion to trick his victims. Cha Tiger also uses tricks in order to catch his victims, such as playing dead, but he acts rather than speaks in those situations. Cha Tiger and also Shon Arei both have authority because of their strength and social importance. In fact, Cha Tiger's strength alone would seem to suffice for the capture of his victims. Nanzi, however, is neither strong nor does he have a high rank in his society. He relies only on his astuteness, demonstrated through his

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persuasive discourse and further behavior as the determining factor for his victory over his victims.

Over the years some structuralists have changed their view of characters. Debates about the importance of characters in relationship to their participation in events have changed in emphasis through time into arguments about whether characters should be considered as real beings or not (Toolan 1995:90). Todorov (1990), for example, proposes that there are two types of characters: 1) characters who are presented in a linguistic text as part of the world of the narrative, represented by a proper name and other specific characteristics, and who perform actions in the narrative; and 2) characters who have a psychological essence. Bal (1985) believes that the actor or participant in a narrative who performs action on the fabula level, does not need to be human-like. The character, however, who acts on the discourse level can be distinguished by its human characteristics and therefore resembles a human being. Toolan (1995:92) and Rimmon-Kenan (1983:33) both take the view that a character depends on the image which the reader creates of that character. This image is "partly modeled on people of the real world." (Toolan 1995:92).

Chatman believes that characters, although they seem to be real people, are "only more or less lifelike" (1978:138). "Characters do not have "lives"; we endow them with "personality" only to the extent that personality is a structure familiar to us in life and art" (Chatman 1978:138; see also Toolan 1995:196). Characters, in Chatman's (1978) opinion are reconstructions, which are formed by the reader or the audience based on the discourse related to the character. Through the explicit or implicit mention of a

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character's traits or habits, each character distinguishes itself, which is why the reader or audience remembers the character sometimes even over a long period of time after reading a narrative or novel or seeing a play. Because a reconstruction is like a character, observation of character traits and the setting in which a character moves gives insight into the personality of the character. A trait is defined by Chatman as a "relatively stable or abiding personal quality" (1978:126). This quality may be described through narration (although this does not happen in the Nanzi corpus), or it can also be inferred (Chatman 1978; Bal 1985). Baart (1983) for example, describes Nanzi as having two main characteristics: that he is extremely cunning, and that he has an uncontrollable desire for food. Baart nowhere mentions that Nanzi is cunning through persuasive discourse. Neither does the narrator mention that Nanzi is cunning. Nanzi's characteristics are thus deduced from discourse elements other than, for example, adjectives which describe character traits. By observing what Nanzi does, thinks, or especially says, an image of Nanzi arises and the reader gains the impression that Nanzi is astute. This image formed by the reader or listener is always related to her cultural background and may therefore differ among readers and listeners. However, an image based only on observation of actions or utterances of a character may not provide the whole range of characteristics unique to that character. An in-depth analysis of every action, utterance and thought of a character, however, reconfirms the notion which readers have formed in their minds about the characters in a narrative. Characters are assigned human characteristics; they act, talk and think in the same manner as human beings. Therefore, Halliday's (1997) functional approach to human language, which

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includes the premise that each human action, utterance and thought is expressed in a clause, and Hasan's (1989) application of this theory, provide a useful point of departure for the analysis of the characters in a narrative. The fusion of these theories provides a platform from which to explain how characters perceive their world, their action in that world, and how they deal with their emotions (see sections 2.1.7; 2.2.2 and 4.5-4.5.2).

Once the decision has been made to take the philosophical and analytic course that characters resemble human beings in their actions and thoughts, the question arises regarding which characters should be considered for analysis. As far as events are concerned, scholars such as Barthes (1975) and Chatman (1978) believe that not every event in a narrative is important for the development of the story line. Only major events (Barthes' nuclei and Chatman's kernels, discussed in section 2.1.4) play a role in the plot. With respect to characters, both Chatman (1978) and Bal (1985) consider only actors or characters who are important for the plot and always participate in functional events, i.e. nuclei or kernels to be worthy of analysis. However, Bal and Chatman both also stress that minor actors, for example a maid or a porter, may be important for the representation of a certain epoch or society. They consider that the minor actors are often used as foils to reveal characteristics of the major actors, or to contrast with them.

As it will be evident in my analysis (see sections 4.5-4.6), I believe that all characters should be considered for character analysis. The reason is that even though some characters which do not appear in the foreground and therefore may be considered as part of the setting, are actually revealed to be important when closely observed. In N2, for example, "the people" or "they" are less visible than Nanzi and Cha Tiger who act

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and talk throughout the story. The people are a collectivity that remains in the background, but they are present at many occasions and not infrequently their collective voice is heard. It is the people who inform Cha Tiger about Nanzi's bet: (N2, 36) *"E di ku e ta subi sinta riba bo lomba"* "'He says that he will climb on your back.'" The people are all present at Nanzi's glorious moment of victory over the powerful tiger. Through a character analysis from the perspective of Halliday/Hasan the people emerge as observers and messengers in this story, whose presence and observation underline the personalities of the major characters, Nanzi and Cha Tiger. The people are the audience, and they are present at the moment of the tiny spider's glorious defeat of his powerful adversary.

Also Shi Maria, who does not call attention to herself, but who is a helper and puts a pillow on Cha Tiger's back and a cord in his mouth, assists in creating the image of Nanzi as a little spider who is rising in power over a fierce tiger who becomes more and more submissive.

As it will be evident from the following sections, there is much more involved in a character than simply a role. Characters do indeed play a role, but they also talk, see, and experience, which are human characteristics. Thus the animals whose actions form the core of the Nanzi stories are all human-like. But Nanzi, above all, repeatedly performs one special action of which he is a master, and which is distinctively human, i.e., persuasion. Persuasion gives Nanzi the power to lead his conversation with Cha Tiger in a certain direction so that the tiger responds in the manner Nanzi anticipates. Some authors suggest that the speaker who has the floor controls the conversation. Other

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authors consider that the power to control the conversation belongs to the hearer because he can choose not to listen or, for example in the case of a conference, he may leave the room (Lakoff 1982). In the Nanzi story, Nanzi starts the conversation with Cha Tiger after the tiger enters Nanzi's house. Cha Tiger could have ignored Nanzi's complaint about being sick, and he could have insisted that Nanzi answered his question, i.e., whether Nanzi made a fool of him or not. However, Cha Tiger loses the floor, because he does not know how to react upon Nanzi's mournful voice, and therefore Nanzi is able to continue his speech after taking a short pause. Through his words Nanzi manipulates Cha Tiger's lack of astuteness. Therefore Cha Tiger will never be as human as Nanzi, the persuader, who tricks the other animals so that they fall into his trap, just like a spider catching his victim in his web. Even when Nanzi himself realizes that he cannot escape the trap which he sets for his victim, he still tries to persuade his opponent to free him (story 3).

In the present section I discussed how different scholars consider characters. Then I pointed out the importance of characters in a narrative and how an in-depth analysis of all the characters, following Halliday/Hasan's approach, can provide a view of narrative world which could otherwise only be inferred and might therefore not be complete.

A first image of the characters of a narrative, however, arises from the discourse in the narrative. The narrative text is presented by a narrator, and it depends on the narrator and another narrative agent, the focalizer, how the reader or listener perceives a character. Therefore, the following sections will be concerned with the presentation of characters in a narrative (section 4.3), the processes of narration and focalization

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(section 4.3.1), and speech (section 4.3.2). Then, in section 4.4 I will discuss these concepts in relation to Nanzi story 2.

4.3 Presentation of Characters in a Narrative

In section 2.1.1, I discussed how the arrangement of events in a narrative differs from one story to another, each time presenting a different plot. Also, characters may be presented in different manners, as will be evident from the following sections. Although the way that characters are presented does not influence the action of the plot, it does have a powerful effect on the manner in which a reader or listener perceives both the character and story. The narrative agents who are responsable for this difference in perception are the narrator and the focalizer. Through the words of the narrator, who narrates the events, and through the speech of the different characters, the readers are provided with the information that allows them to visualize the characters in a narrative. The reason why the reader is able to envision the characters is that there is also another narrative agent whose gaze guides the reader towards the characters. This agent is the focalizer. The narrator and focalizer may be two different narrative agents but these two roles may also be combined. Narrators speak, but the voice of a character may also be heard in a narrative. The narrator's voice and the speech of the character can be presented in a narrative in different manners. Distinctions and combinations of the narrator, focalizer and speech will be the topic of the following sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

4.3.1 Narration and Focalization in a Narrative

The narrator is the agent "who speaks" in a narrative. He represents the author and his task is to narrate the events, characters and places. This proves to be a complex task,

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when broken down into its component elements. The narrator can be present or absent in the world of the narrative, or "diegesis," i.e., "the (fictional) world in which the situations and events narrated occur" (Prince 1989:20). The "intradiegetic" narrator is the narrator who is present or visible in the narrative to a greater or lesser degree. Most frequently, however, the narrator is invisible and therefore "extradiegetic" (Bal 1991:89). An extradiegetic narrator knows what the characters in the narrative do and think and is thus omniscient as he narrates what happens in the narrative to a hypothetical reader. A narrator may also appear as a character in the story he is telling. The story then is told in the first person and the narrator is a "homodiegetic" narrator. However, narrators who are characters in a story can also be absent from the story they narrate. This type of narrator is considered to be the "heterodiegetic" narrator (Bal 1991:79). Narrators thus can be extra- or intradiegetic and at the same time homo- or heterodiegetic.

The extradiegetic narrator who does not participate in the world of the narrative has been considered by many scholars as a "third person" narrator. However, Bal (1985; 1991), founding her opinion on Genette's theory of narrative discourse (Genette 1980 in Bal 1991), declares that a third person narrator does not exist. The person who narrates is always "the subject of the narrating" and therefore necessarily a first person narrator, in Bal's opinion (1985:122; 1991:89).

The narrator then is the agent who narrates and whose voice is heard in the process of narration. However, a narrator may yield the floor to a character in the narrative who consequently begins to narrate. When this character becomes the narrator, a change of levels in the narrative text takes place (Bal 1985:120). The extradiegetic narrator, being

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absent from the world of the narrative, moves on the first level. The intradiegetic character then moves on the second level and it is from this level that narration occurs when the character has the floor. Narration can thus take place at different levels of the narrative text. When a transfer of speech occurs from a narrator to a character, this transfer is indicated in the discourse by a declarative verb, such as, "he said", etc. (Bal 1991:91). The various levels of narration reveal the existence of the narrator (Bal 1991). Each level represent a different narrative, such as "narratives within a narrative" (of which "Thousand and One Nights" is a good example), or a hypodiegetic narrative which may consist, for example, of a dream, narrated by a character, or the direct discourse of a character. Bal describes three types of relationships between the primary narrative and the hyponarrative: 1) The secondary narrative explains what happens in the primary narrative; 2) the theme of the first narrative is contrasted and compared in the second narrative; 3) "...the very act of narrating [the hyponarrative] influences the events of the primary narrative." (1991:79). In Nanzi story 2, Nanzi's use of persuasive discourse can be considered as a hyponarrative which influences the course of the events in the story.

The words expressed by the narrator to describe the elements of a narrative, such as events, characters and places, are "the narrated" (Bal 1991:90). The narrated is always located at a level which is lower than the level at which the narrator is located. When the character as object of the narrating becomes the narrator, his speech is then located on a lower level than the level on which the character-narrator itself is moving.

The narrator describes the events and character's personalities in the narrative. The reader or listener must imagine or create an image of the characters through the

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discourse of the narrator, or the manner in which she presents the characters. The narrator can present the character from her point of view, but the narrated can also be considered from another point of view; this is where focalization becomes crucial.

Focalization, as I mentioned in section 2.1.4, is a feature of narrative theory which is analyzed on the level of discourse (in formalists' and structuralists' theory - see section 2.1.4) or Bal's (1985) level of "story". The main proponent of the theory of focalization is Bal who defines focalization as "the relationship between the 'vision,' the agent that sees, and that which is seen" (1985:104). The agent that sees is the "focalizer" or "the point of view from which the elements are viewed" (Bal 1985:104). The focalizer thus "sees" the events and the characters and provides a particular perspective on them.

The "focalized" or the object of focalization, can be the events, the characters who fulfill their functions in the narrative, or the surroundings in which they move. When the focalized is perceptible, the narrative is told "in external focalization" i.e. from the point of view of the narrator-focalizer (Bal 1991:91). However, when the object of focalization is imperceptible, for example a dream or a thought, only the character as focalizer is able to perceive it. The narrative is then presented as "internally focalized" (Bal 1985:109; 1991:91).

The focalizer is not the narrator, but in the beginning of many narratives, the narrator and focalizer are the same agent. In this situation, when the narrator in a narrative is invisible, the focalizer is often also imperceptible. Narrator and focalizer move on two different levels; the narrator moves on the level of narration, while the focalizer moves on the level of focalization. However, both the focalizer and the narrator can change

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levels (Bal 1991:92). For example, a character can become the focalizer in which case the elements in the narrative are then considered from the point of view of that character. The focalized object in this instance is contained within the vision of the character-focalizer, and the panorama is therefore more restricted than when an extradiegetic narrator-focalizer "sees" the elements in a narrative. Not only the focalizer beholds the events, characters and places in a narrative, but also an implied "spectator" (Bal 1991:88; see figure 2.3, page 60). Both the focalizer and the implied spectator focus on the "focalized" and focalization is therefore one of the narrative techniques which causes the character to stand out and appear so "human-like" to a reader that he has the impression of being directly involved in the world of the narrative. The direct speech of a character in a narrative, however, may also invoke this feeling of involvement, and therefore I will take a closer look at the expression of speech a narrative.

4.3.2 Speech in a Narrative

One of our daily activities is the interaction with other human beings during which we discuss what we said to another speaker or what another speaker has told us because "the transmission and assessment of the speech of others, ... is one of the most widespread and fundamental topics of human speech" (Bakhtin 1981:337). In a narrative, speech can be presented in different manners. For example, the narrator may express the words of a character or the character himself may discuss what another character has said. Therefore, utterances can be presented by direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, or narratized speech.

Direct discourse or reported discourse quotes what a character actually said or thought (Bal 1991:81-82; Toolan 1995:120). Bal considers direct discourse "a pure

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instance of mimesis" (Bal 1991:81). In the real world however, a speaker who repeats to a listener the words which another speaker has uttered will seldom present a verbatim report of the other person's words (Tannen 1986). The direct speech of the character, to whom the narrator on the first level has yielded the floor, is always contained within the words of that narrator. Thus, "reported speech is speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also speech about speech and utterance about utterance (Vološinov 1986:115). The use of direct speech, however, gives the reader the impression that he is directly involved in the world of the narrative (Chafe 1994; Tannen 1986). Direct speech also makes the characters more human-like and listening to the words of a character is one of the methods through which the reader forms an image of the character's personality.

When using indirect discourse or "transposed discourse" (Toolan 1995:20; Bal 1991: 81; Prince 1989:64-5) the narrator makes an effort to reproduce what a character said as accurately as possible. However, she uses her own words and deictics to replicate the characters words. A narrator can also narrate the words of a character by using narratized speech, which is furthest removed from direct discourse. The speech of the character is not recognizable as uttered by the character, but is presented by the narrator as another event, for example: "She urged him to visit her at once" (in Toolan 1995:122; Bal 1991; Prince 1989).

One of the most interesting manners to present discourse in a narrative is "free indirect discourse" or, "quasi-direct discourse" (Bakhtin 1981:303; Toolan 1995:125; Vološinov 1986:155). In free indirect discourse it is the narrator's words the reader

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hears but within his words the discourse of the character is embedded. The difference between direct speech and free indirect discourse is that in the latter the words of the character are not contained within quotation marks, so that it seems that the words are uttered by the narrator but the intonation, emotion and evaluation of the words actually belong to the character.

By mixing different narrative voices, an author may create certain effects. Ulibarrí, for example, uses the voice of an extradiegetic narrator, who narrates the events in the story and whose voice is heard intradiegetically occasionally. He combines these voices with direct, indirect and free indirect speech, and also quotes other characters, in order to give an "orality dimension" to his narratives (Ramirez 1995).

For my analysis I will take into consideration direct discourse and indirect discourse because these are the only types of discourse which appear in Nanzi story 2. In the following section I will discuss which narrative agents are involved in the narration process of "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," how the theory of focalization can be applied to the narrative, and how speech is presented in the same narrative.

4.4 Analysis: Narrative Agents, Focalization, and Speech in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

As I mentioned in section 1.3.1, the Nanzi stories in Papiamentu were written down by the Antillean folklorist Nilda Geerdink-Jesurun Pinto. Her stories are based on material collected by folklorists, teachers and priests (Wood 1972). The original narrators and co-narrators of the oral Nanzi stories were the slaves on the plantations in Curaçao who had brought the stories (stored in their memory) from Africa to the New World. The author of the oral Nanzi stories can thus be considered the community in

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which the Nanzi stories were recreated, whereas Nilda Geerdink-Jesurun Pinto is the author and narrator of the written Nanzi stories of my analysis. And, as I mentioned in chapter 1, the tradition of the Nanzi stories continues. Author (and narrator) Richard de Veer adapted the Nanzi stories to modern life: for example, Nanzi knows how to read and write; he opens his own business, and Nanzi even goes into politics.

The narrator, "the one who speaks" in Bal's words, recounts the events which occur in a narrative (Bal 1991:87). In "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," the narrator is located outside the story and is thus extradiegetic. He is invisible and tells what characters do in the narrative from the outside. Only in one instance the voice of the narrator can be heard: (16) *Ma ta ken tabata papia asina di Cha Tiger?* 'But who was speaking like that about Cha Tiger?' *Ta Nanzi* 'It is Nanzi'. At that moment the narrator is visible in the narrative and becomes intradiegetic in relation to the story.

The narrator describes what the characters in the narrative do or what happens to them. When the story begins, the narrator is also the focalizer and through his eyes we see the characters. However, the narrator-focalizer often yields the floor to a character in the story, so that the voices of Nanzi, Cha Tiger and the people can be heard throughout the story. These characters then become narrators in the instance at which they start their discourse. Thus, instead of being the object of the narrating, they become the subject of the narrating. So there is a change of level of the narrator, and at the same time there is a change of focalizer. For example, when Nanzi pronounces the words: (10) *"Ta kiko Cha Tiger por hasi?"* "'What can Cha Tiger do?"'; (11) *"Blo grita so"* "'He can only roar."'; (14) *"Un kurpa grandi asina mester gasta hopi kos"* "'A big

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body like his must need a lot of things."' Nanzi, who was mentioned by the narrator and focalized by the focalizer (who in this case is one and the same agent) becomes by speaking the narrator-focalizer himself; the focalized in this case is Cha Tiger.

After Cha Tiger learns that Nanzi has made a fool of him, the tiger is furious. He confronts Nanzi in his house. But Nanzi's response diverts the attention of Cha Tiger. Instead of Cha Tiger's angry words as the object of focalization: (53) *"Nanzi, nan a laga sa ku bo a bofon di mi..."* "'Nanzi, they let me know that you made a fool of me,"' Nanzi makes himself the focalized: (55) *"Ami, Cha Tiger, ami aki papia malu di bo?"* "'Me, Cha Tiger, I am talking bad about you?"'; and, (58) *"Bo no ta mira kon malu mi ta aki?"* "'Can't you see how sick I am?"' The reader as implied spectator sees Nanzi through the eyes of the narrator-focalizer, thus through the spider's eyes. However, the gaze of the reader is also guided towards Nanzi through the eyes of the tiger. Sentence 58 is therefore an example of dual focalization. Later, Nanzi again calls the attention of the tiger to his sick body by complaining about the mosquitos in the forest: (83) *"Ai, asta e muskitanan ta molestiá mi"* "'Oh, even the mosquitoes bother me."' and, (84) *"Nan ta weta ku mi no tin hopi dia di bida mas"* "'They see that I don't have many days of life left."' Nanzi sees the mosquitoes, the focalized, and he makes the mosquitoes the focalizer of himself in order to convince Cha Tiger of his miserable situation. Thus, the attention of the reader, as implied spectator, is called to Nanzi's miserable situation by his assigning of the role of focalizer to the mosquitos.

At the peak of the story, Nanzi shouts: (92) *"Shon Arei a weta, Cha Tiger no ta mas ku mi buriku"* "'Shon Arei has seen, Cha Tiger is nothing more than my donkey."'

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The extradiegetic narrator as focalizer sees Nanzi while he shouts. Nanzi however, takes his turn as narrator and at the same time he becomes the focalizer of Shon Arei, who in his turn, becomes the focalizer of Cha Tiger. Thus, Nanzi looks at Shon Arei who watches Cha Tiger. The sentence therefore contains three levels of focalization. Nanzi is also focalized by the people around him, who shout: (92) *"Biba Nanzi"* "'Long live Nanzi."' The complexity of the focalization at the peak underlines the other characteristics which mark the peak, such as a conglomeration of people, and turbulence caused by dynamic actions preceding the peak (see section 3.5.2). All the characters seem to observe each other.

The object of focalization or the focalized can be either perceptible or imperceptible. In its description of events, the story gives the reader a realistic picture of Cha Tiger on his way to Nanzi's house, shouting furiously: (41) *Tur hende a kore drenta kas i bai lur na yalusi kiko ta pasa* 'All the people ran into their house and looked behind the curtains what happened'. The people, as focalizers, have all their eyes turned towards Cha Tiger, the focalized. The focalization is emphasized by the fact that Nanzi hears Cha Tiger's roaring: (43) *Nanzi tambe a tende e gritamentu di Cha Tiger ku ora pa ora tabata yega mas seka* 'Nanzi also heared the roaring of Cha Tiger who steadily came closer'. Nanzi, thus, does not see Cha Tiger, but he can hear him. The focalized is therefore in this occasion perceptible.

In another occasion in the narrative, however, the focalized is imperceptible: it can not been seen nor heard. In sentence 65: *El [Cha Tiger] a pensa: "Nanzi ta malu di bèrdè mes"* 'He [Cha Tiger] thought: "Nanzi is really sick."' Cha Tiger's thoughts are

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the object of focalization, but only the tiger himself as focalizer knows his own thoughts. These are, however, exactly the thoughts that Nanzi hopes he will have.

The narrative "Nanzi i Cha Tiger" shows an extensive use of direct speech. In fact, in most of the instances in which a character speaks, its words are expressed by direct discourse. The usage of direct speech is considered to a greater or lesser degree as "a pure instance of mimesis," as Bal suggests, providing the reader of the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" with an image of reality (Bal 1991:81). Often the narrator uses direct speech in order to present a dialogue between two characters, of which the most important example appears in episode 5, which is the occasion of Nanzi's persuasion of Cha Tiger. Only infrequently does the narrator present a character's speech through indirect discourse, for example: (35) *"Nanzi di ku e no tin miedu di bo"* "'Nanzi says that he does not fear you.'" where the indirect quote is contained within a direct quote. Free indirect discourse and narratized speech do not appear in this Nanzi story. By using direct discourse, characters come alive in the mind of the reader in the same manner as a human being imagines someone who is the topic of conversation, introduced by another speaker. It is in this way that the narrative agent intensifies the listener's imagination. Hence, the Nanzi stories evoke the image of a world in which the reader feels directly involved.

Returning to my discussion in section 2.1.5, narrator and focalizer are some of the participant roles in narration. Earlier in this chapter I mentioned that the slaves at the plantations in Curaçao can be considered as the recreators of the oral Nanzi stories and that the folklorist Nilda Geerdink-Jesurun Pinto who wrote the stories down is the

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author of the written stories. The narrator of the oral stories addresses an audience which is physically present and this audience, in its role as spectator "sees" the characters which the focalizer presents to them from his point of view. I therefore not only include the narrator and focalizer, but also the explicit spectator and explicit audience in my scheme of narrative participants for the oral Nanzi stories. For the written Nanzi stories however, I follow Bal's (1991) example of an implied spectator and implied reader. With respect to the narrative agent of author, as Bal proposes, I prefer the audience for the oral stories and reader for the written stories. I view audience and/or reader as participants in narration, in their global extension of the larger community or future generations who will listen to the Nanzi stories in their oral form or read them in their written form.

Based on these considerations, I propose the following narrative participants for the Nanzi stories:

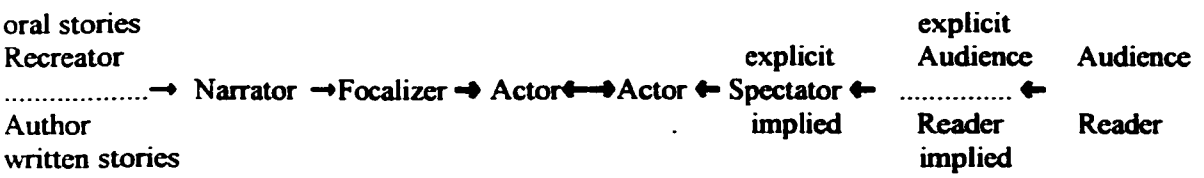

Figure 4.2 Narrative Agents in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

In this section I discussed the narrative agents who participate in the creation of the narrative text. The voice of the narrator and the vision of the focalizer together guide the reader or audience of a narrative towards the characters which take form in the minds of the persons who listen to or read the story. Viewing a character from the perspective of the focalizer particularly creates a nearly human image of the character. This image is

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even more intense when the narrator yields the floor to the character who uses direct speech to communicate and express feelings. The Nanzi stories therefore, are not only amusing stories, but the human-like characters remain in the minds of the reader or listener because they are presented through narrative agents and narrative techniques which make them stand out in a very realistic manner. Therefore, the reader or listener has the impression of taking part in the world of the narrative. In the following sections 4.5 and 4.6 then I will unfold this world by analyzing what happens in the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger", i.e., what the characters do, what they feel, and say. Through the analysis of all the actions in the narrative, it is evident that characters have a role which sometimes can be filled by another character. Characters however, are fundamentally human-like, and each character demonstrates its own personality features.

4.5 Character Analysis: A Hasan/Hallidayan Perspective

One of the approaches to character analysis is based on the process analysis discussed in Halliday (1997; see also section 2.1.7 and 2.2.2). Hasan (1989) applies Halliday's (1985) approach to a poem in order to decide who does what to whom in the poem. Halliday (1997) proposes that humans use a syntactic element, the clause, to present their world and to express their feelings and thoughts to other speakers. Each clause contains a process which is expressed by the verb phrase. The clause also includes the participants in the process which are realized by a noun phrase and adjectival phrases. A process may also involve the circumstances related to the action expressed in the process. The circumstances can be realized by prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases and adverbial subordinate clauses. I use Halliday's approach and Hasan's application of

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this approach to analyze the characters in "Kompa Nanzi i Tiger," in order to decide what the characters in the narrative do, how they behave, what they see and feel and what they say.

4.5.1 Who Acts, Sees, and Speaks in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger?"

As I proposed in chapter 3, the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" can be divided into nine episodes. I examined each clause in every episode and determined which process was expressed in that clause. Then I computed the total number of the different processes. The results are presented in Table 4.1. The actual clauses, including the processes and main participants, are presented in appendix C, where the Papiamentu text is given in italics, followed by a translation into English.

I also decided if the verb of the clause was transitive or intransitive. Hopper and Thompson describe transitivity as a "global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is "carried-over" or "transferred" from an agent to a patient"(1980:251). Each transitive verb requires at least two participants. Thus in the Nanzi stories, the verbs expressed in the Material, Mental, and Verbal process are transitive. In the Relational processes only the verbs which express possession are transitive. Thus, for each episode of the narrative, I identified that character which could be considered as the main participant in each process and then, based on the transitivity of the verb, determined which character or which entity was the second, or third participant in that process. Characters as main participant in the processes of the narrative are the subject of Table 4.2. Three major characters, Nanzi, Cha Tiger and the people (considered as one entity), and two minor characters, Shi Maria and Shon Arei can be considered as main

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participant in a process. Other main participants are animate or inanimate, such as (26) a wise man, and (83) mosquitoes, appearing in a Material and Mental process respectively, and, (5) conversation, and (42) street which each occur in a Relational process.

To each character who acts, senses, behaves, etc. (the first participants in the processes) can be assigned an -er role, a term coined by Hasan (1989). Included in the -er roles are the Actors, Sensers, Behavers, Carriers, Identifiers, Possessors, Sayers and Existents (see below). The second participants in the processes receive the -ed roles. They are the Goals, Phenomena, Attributes, Possesseds, Identifieds, Verbiages, Receivers, and Targets. The characters who can be identified as carrying the -er roles are mentioned in Table 4.3. Those participants who are the objects of the actions, carrying the -ed roles, are presented in Table 4.4.

In section 2.1.7 and 2.2.2 I discussed Halliday's process analysis. As a reminder I briefly list the different processes and participants again here (Halliday 1997:109-142): 1. Material process: verbs of doing. Participants: Actor and Goal; 2. Mental process: verbs of sensing (perception, affection, cognition). Participants: Senser and Phenomenon; 3. Relational process: a) intensive verbs ("x is a"). Participants: Carrier and Attribute; or, Identifier and Identified; b) circumstantial verbs ("x is at/about/like"). Participants: Carrier and Attribute; c) possessive verbs ("x has a"). Participants: Carrier/Possessor and Attribute/Possessed; 4. Behavioral process: verbs of physiological and psychological behavior. Participant: the Behaver; 5. Verbal process: verbs of saying or telling. Participants: Sayer, Receiver, Verbiage and Target; 6. Existential process: verbs which express that something exists or happens. Participant: the Existent.

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Consideration of Halliday's process analysis for all the clauses in the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" resulted in a total of 183 processes. Table 4.1. represents the six different processes as they appear in each episode of the narrative, and indicates what gets done in the narrative.

Table 4.1 Number of Processes per Episode in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

Episode	Material	Mental	Relational	Behavioral	Verbal	Existential	Total
1.	1	2	2	-	-	-	5
2.	10	5	4	2	8	1	30
3.	4	9	3	-	11	2	29
4.	9	3	1	4	2	1	20
5.	23	8	11	7	17	-	66
6.	9	2	1	-	2	-	14
7.	7	1	1	-	-	-	9
8.	-	1	1	1	2	-	5
9.	2	2	1	-	-	-	5
Total	65	33	25	14	42	4	183

As it appears, the Material processes form the largest part (35.5%) of all the processes in the narrative. Material processes contain the actions in the narrative and therefore indicate that there are a great number of events in this narrative. Verbal processes, as it appears, occupy the second important position among the processes (23%). We know that "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" is a trickster story, and that tricksters often use words to persuade, so it is therefore important to look at the Verbal processes in the story, as they may reveal the mechanisms by which Cha Tiger is tricked. The

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Mental processes (18%) must also be considered in order to determine who sees or hears in the story and what is seen or heard. The Relational processes (13.7%) provide some additional information about the characters, such as their location, some of their possessions, and some attributes. The Behavioral processes (7.6%) in the narrative express some typical human characteristics of the characters such as laughter, and trembling. Finally, the Existential processes (2.2%) indicate that certain participants are present and that particular events take place in the narrative.

Table 4.1 presents all the actions and feelings in the narrative. It also includes the number of clauses which contain the speech of the characters, extending the concept of speech to include anticipated speech: (46) *Shi Maria no a haña chèns di puntra Nanzi nada, ...* 'Shi Maria did not have a chance to ask Nanzi anything...'. However, Table 4.1 does not explain which character initiates each process. Therefore the following table 4.2 provides an overview of all the characters as main participants in each process as they appear in every episode of the narrative. I used the following abbreviations for the characters in the story: CT=Cha Tiger; N=Nanzi; P=people (they, a group of people); SM=Shi Maria; SA=Shon Arei; O=other characters (A=animate; I=Inanimate).

When the Material and Mental processes are taken into consideration, some other (O) participants (both animate and inanimate) appear, such as: (83) *muskitanan* 'mosquitoes' and, (61) *un hende sabi* 'a wise man', (26,41) *kiko* 'what'. The Relational processes reveal several inanimate and intangible participants as Carriers, such as: (5) *e kòmbersashon* 'conversation', (42) *kaya* 'street' and (57) *mundu* 'world'. Three processes do not have an agent expressed in the Papiamentu text, but the subject "it" is inferred: (53) *ta bèrdè* 'it is true', and (72, 79) *ta bon* 'it is okay'.

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Table 4.2 "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger": Characters as Main Participants of Processes

N=Nanzi; CT= Cha Tiger; P=the people; SM= Shi Maria; SA= Shon Arei
EP.=Episode; O=other participants; A=Animate; I=Inanimate

EP.	MATERIAL						MENTAL						RELATIONAL						BEHAVIORAL					VERBAL					EXISTENTIAL					
	N	CT	P	SM	SA	O A	N	CT	P	SM	SA	O A	N	CT	P	SM	SA	O A/I	N	CT	P	SM	SA	N	CT	P	SM	SA	N	CT	P	SM	SA	O I
1.	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	3	7	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
3.	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	3	3	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
4.	-	6	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
5.	13	4	-	4	-	2	1	6	-	-	-	1	4	2	1	-	-	4	7	-	-	-	-	12	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	5	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
T	27	27	2	6	-	3	5	12	10	1	3	2	7	7	3	-	1	6	11	-	3	-	-	25	9	7	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	2

Table 4.2. not only shows that most of the Verbal processes which play an important role in the narrative occur in episode 5, which I discussed as a "Transition Period" in chapter 3, but also that it is Nanzi who is the initiator of most of the Verbal processes. In the same episode, also many of the Material processes take place, and again Nanzi is the most active character. However, a global view of the Material processes across the entire story indicates that Nanzi's and Cha Tiger's actions occur at the same rate.

Table 4.2 also reveals that it is mainly Cha Tiger and the people who "see, hear, fear and feel compassion," as the Mental processes express. From table 4.2 arises a first image of the characters. It explains how often they act, how often they see what happens and how often they speak.

In the beginning of this section I mentioned that I also considered the transitivity of the verbs throughout the narrative. In the 183 processes in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger", I counted 101 transitive verbs and 82 intransitive verbs. Consideration of both the transitive and intransitive verbs appearing in the processes identifies the roles of the Actor, Senser, Possessor, and Sayer (processes with a transitive verb), and the roles of Behaver, Carrier, Identifier and Existent (processes with an intransitive verb), as they are distributed over the five main characters as well as the other characters in the story. Hasan (1989) labels this set of participants as occupying the -er roles. Hasan assigns -ed roles to the other participants in the processes, that is, in processes with a transitive verb: the objects of the action (the Goals), and, those who/which are seen or heard (the Phenomenon), the possessions of the Carriers/Possessors (the Possessed), the objects of the saying (the Verbiage), and the Target of the saying. A discussion of the -ed roles in

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the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" will follow in section 4.5.2. I use both -er and -ed roles for the analysis of the Nanzi stories. I present the 183 -er roles in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. -Er Roles in the Narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

N=Nanzi; CT= Cha Tiger; P=the people; SM= Shi Maria; SA= Shon Arei

	N	CT	P	SM	SA	Other Animate/Inanimate		Total
Actor	27	27	2	6	-	3	-	65
Senser	5	12	10	1	3	2	-	33
Carrier*	2	4	3	-	1	-	6	16
Identifier*	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Possessor*	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	7
Behaver	11	-	3	-	-	-	-	14
Sayer	25	9	7	1	-	-	-	42
Existent	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	4
Total	75	55	27	8	4	6	8	183

*These three types of -er roles refer to characters as main participants in Relational processes.

Material processes - Actors

It is evident from this table that Nanzi and Cha Tiger participate as Actors precisely in the same number of Material processes. However, when we consider these processes, it appears that Cha Tiger is the participant who actually moves most by his own agency, in the process covering a wide area, whereas Nanzi's movements are restricted to his near surroundings and are more passive, as when he rides on Cha Tiger's back. We see Cha

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Tiger appear at the end of an alley (3), go through the street to Nanzi' s house (38, 39), enter the house (49), walk through the woods (86), and at the end of the story, Cha Tiger runs until he stands before Shon Arei (91); then the tiger runs to the woods out of shame (95). Nanzi is active at the beginning and the end of the story. Initially he has only one goal, to ride the tiger, and he is convinced of his bet: (22) "No later than tomorrow I am riding on Cha Tiger's back."

Otherwise, Nanzi is passive: he sits up (54), waits (59), falls on his belly (63), and he grips (75) and holds Cha Tiger's ears (77); he also holds the cord in Cha Tiger's mouth in order not to fall (78, 82). During the Transition episode 5, Shi Maria does all the work for Nanzi: she puts a pillow on Cha Tiger's back and a cord in his mouth (71, 73, 80). The only thing which Nanzi does is letting his body slide on Cha Tiger's back (75). In sentence 69 we see that the tiger actually becomes the victim of Nanzi's trickery and that Nanzi wins his bet through persuasion and passivity, when the tiger agrees: (69) "Climb on my back then." The examination of the processes show that Nanzi has played his role of being sick very well. Toward the end of the story Nanzi becomes active again. He tears off a branch to chase the mosquitos away (86). His most active moments are when he waves the branch (87, 90) and hits the tiger (90), but we never even see Nanzi walk.

Other movements of Cha Tiger are expressions of his anger: he knocks on Nanzi's door (47), as if he wants to tear the door down (47) and he pushes Shi Maria aside (49) The comparative clause introduced by "as if" and the auxiliary "want" in the hypothetical past imply, however, that Cha Tiger's plan is not realized and in the next sentences we see no evidence that the door was broken. On the contrary, Shi Maria

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opens the door for Cha Tiger. Thus at this point in the story, we can already predict that Cha Tiger wants to present himself as being more valiant than he is in reality.

Other characters in the narrative (*e hendenan* 'the people' etc.) also move. They flee when they see the tiger coming (3), and they run to hide in their houses when Cha Tiger wants to get Nanzi (41).

Shon Arei does not act in the narrative, but his authority is felt especially as the most important witness and judge of events. He knows what happens (24) and people gather in the street before his palace to see how Cha Tiger will react to Nanzi's bet (26). At the end of the story Shon Arei shows his importance again, because all the people gather around him when Nanzi enjoys his victory (93). Thus, people move around Shon Arei, but by moving they also see and watch the other characters as we will see later in the discussion of the Mental processes.

Verbal processes - Sayers

Verbal processes occupy the second place of importance among the processes in the narrative, as I presented in Table 4.3. under the category of Sayer. As we can see in the same table, Nanzi is by far the most verbal character, being involved in 25 Verbal process vs. Cha Tiger who is the secondary most verbal character, but who engages in only 9 Verbal processes. Nanzi is a small spider, and in order to trick Cha Tiger he has to use his wits as demonstrated through words. Therefore, his speech in the narrative is an extremely important element as well as a highly salient factor in his personality as conveyed by the story. We read what Nanzi says, and how he speaks with a mournful voice, shouts, screams and complains. The most important moments of speech are when

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Nanzi bets that he will ride on Cha Tiger's back (15), when he persuades Cha Tiger to carry him [Nanzi] on his [Cha Tiger's] back (68), and when, at the peak (see chapter 3) he shouts that Shon Arei has seen how he [Nanzi] rides the tiger like a donkey (92).

A closer observation of Nanzi's persuasive words reveals that Nanzi mostly calls attention to himself. Nanzi' s efforts to persuade Cha Tiger to bring him to Shon Arei and to allow Nanzi to take a branch are expressed in 29 clauses following verbs of saying. In those clauses Nanzi appears as the main participant on 13 occasions, and three of these use the emphasized independent 1st person pronoun *Ami*. Twice Nanzi calls attention to his body: "My whole body hurts" (70), and "My body will shake a lot" (77). Also, three times Nanzi makes himself the object of the "seeing" of another character. We are asked to see Nanzi through Cha Tiger's eyes: "Can't you see how sick I am?" (58); through the eyes of the wise man who could possibly examine Nanzi: "A wise man there can see me..." (61); and Nanzi even forces Cha Tiger to look at him by following the gaze of the mosquitos: "... they see that I don't have many days of life left" (84). Nanzi also makes himself the object of actions such as bringing: "Shi Maria wants to bring me..." (60); bothering: "The mosquitoes are bothering me" (83) and curing: "A wise man there ... and cure me" (61). Therefore, out of the 29 clauses, in 21 occasions Nanzi uses self-reference as a means to force the tiger to focus on him [Nanzi]. Self-reference can be considered as persuasive, because persuasion is "the attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions or viewpoint of another by communicative means" (Lakoff 1982, see also section 4.2). Nanzi controls the course of his conversation with Cha Tiger by appealing to the tiger's emotions

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attempting to change Cha Tiger's intentions and feelings toward him. Nanzi is successful in this endeavor, because Cha Tiger's attitude toward him is completely reversed through the duration of the conversation. Therefore, observation of the Verbal processes in which Nanzi uses his persuasive voice to confuse Cha Tiger indicates that Nanzi possesses a characteristic of which he is a master and which is uniquely human, i.e., persuasion. Through persuasion Nanzi controls Cha Tiger and is able to obtain his final goal, which is to humiliate the tiger in front of the whole community.

Nanzi thus is the Sayer who talks most frequently in the narrative, whereas Cha Tiger seems increasingly subdued and inarticulate. Near the beginning of the story we hear Cha Tiger screaming angrily: "I am going to get him [Nanzi]" (38) and roaring furiously (40). The tiger tries to impress Nanzi, at first succeeding by showing all his anger: "They [the people] let me know that you made a fool of me" (53). Three time Cha Tiger fiercely growls (29, 31, 52); but after being persuaded, he twice agrees with what Nanzi proposes: "It is okay" (72, 79). Progressively Cha Tiger becomes convinced and submits to Nanzi's words to the point that after episode 5, where most of the Verbal processes occur, and where we are able to witness the force of Nanzi's persuasiveness, we no longer hear Cha Tiger's voice. During this same episode, most of the actions (Material processes) take place. In order to form a better view of the personality hiding behind Nanzi's words, we should look at Nanzi (in table 4.3.) as Senser (main participant in a Mental process) and as Behaver (main participant in a Behavioral process).

Mental processes - Sensers

The category of Sensers includes Mental processes such as verbs of feeling, perception and cognition. When we look at table 4.3. we see that it is mostly Cha Tiger,

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the people and Nanzi (in decreasing order) who participate in these processes as Sensers. Cha Tiger and the people seem to share the same emotions: fear. People fear Cha Tiger. They flee when they see him, because they don't trust him (6) and only one of them finds the courage to greet him (28). But, Cha Tiger himself also appears afraid, first when Nanzi seems very sick (64) and then when Nanzi hits him so hard that he starts running (90). Cha Tiger shows other feelings also. First he is angry (38), but later in the story he feels sorry that Nanzi is (or better, appears to be) sick (69). Finally, Cha Tiger is ashamed of himself for being the victim of Nanzi's trickery (94). Cha Tiger's mental state thus shows another typical human characteristic: compassion, and it is this human reaction which leads to his downfall.

People, the second highest participants in the category of Sensers in the narrative, keep their eyes open: When they see Cha Tiger (3), they disappear, because they believe that he is strong (6, 37) and they are afraid (2, 8). They are in the street to see what will happen (26) and look from behind their curtains when Cha Tiger goes to Nanzi's house (41). They inform Cha Tiger about Nanzi's bet (36) and they are present at the moment when Nanzi rides the tiger, after Nanzi told them that he would do so (21). Thus, although the people seem not to be in the foreground of the story, they occupy an important role in the narrative as observers and messengers. They form the audience for the drama of the trickster's heroic defeat of the powerful tiger.

Nanzi, however, seems not to be afraid, at least if one believes his boasting words at the beginning of the story (12). Shon Arei is therefore curious to know if Nanzi has the courage to confront Cha Tiger (25). And indeed, when Nanzi hears Cha Tiger's

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roaring when the tiger approaches his house (43), Nanzi does not present himself as courageous. Although none of the Mental processes indicates that Nanzi "sees" what people do or explicitly "listens" to the people, he has made them aware of his bet and he knows that they must be watching. Observation of Cha Tiger's reactions allows Nanzi to play his role of a sick spider whose whole body hurts (87, 70), but as we learn later in the story, this is only a false pretext. The Mental processes do not present Nanzi as a being with many feelings. However, observation of the Behavioral processes will show that Nanzi does demonstrate feelings, but that they only concern himself.

Behavioral processes - Behaver

Nanzi (as Senser) is quite bold and fearless when the story begins. However, as Behaver, Nanzi exhibits opposite behavior later in the story, which is related to his role as trickster: he demonstrates fear. By far the majority of the Behavioral processes in the narrative refer to Nanzi's behavior and thus give us a good insight into Nanzi's character. In the beginning of the narrative, we see the the people as Behavers: they laugh until they roll over the ground (18). They believe that Nanzi will never win his bet and they have reason to do so, because we can read how Nanzi turns pale (44), how his teeth chatter (45) and how he trembles (50) as if he has fever (45). However, at this point, the story develops along another path, and Nanzi uses more of his tricks. He stops talking, like someone who cannot breath properly (59) giving the impression that he is going to die (66). He pretends to be so weak that he sleeps on Cha Tiger's back (76) and continuously sighs (80). By considering the Behavioral processes Nanzi engages in during the narrative, we see Nanzi transform from his guise as a trembling,

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seemingly sick spider to a trickster who in reality is cunningly developing means to catch Cha Tiger, as demonstrated most forcefully through the Verbal processes.

Relational processes - Carriers, Identifiers and Possessors

The -er roles of Carrier, Identifier, and Possessor in table 4.3. refer to Relational processes, and tell us which characters have an attribute assigned to them, such as information about their location. It is a Relational process that tells us that Cha Tiger previously did not live in the forest, but among the people (1, 2). The speaker who says not to be afraid for Cha Tiger is identified: It is Nanzi (17). The Relational process also shows us the attributes of a character or of an object, as sick [Nanzi] (65), crazy [people] (9), empty [street] (42). Possession is another aspect expressed in the Relational process: CT has strength (6, 37, 67), and Nanzi may or may not have courage (25), but Nanzi does not have money (60).

Existential processes - Existentents

Existential processes express that "something exists" or happens. The only participant in this process is the Existent. In the Nanzi story, examples of the Existential process include that there are people sitting under a tree (4); and there were a lot of people in the street (26) to see "what was going to happen." Use of the Existential processes allows the storyteller to show that there are people around when important events occur.

The analysis of the main participants in the total of 183 occurrences of the six processes counted in the clauses of the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" (table 4.2. and 4.3.) demonstrates the mechanisms of how an image of the personalities of the characters as Actors, Sensers etc. arises. It is evident from both tables that Nanzi and Cha Tiger are the "doers" in the narrative, followed next in activity by the people.

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Considering the -er roles of Nanzi alone shows that he speaks nearly as much as he acts, and as a trickster, this is not surprising. We also see that Cha Tiger talks only on a few occassions. Cha Tiger, along with the people, is for the most part the perceiver. However, the classification above does not tell us all we want to know. There are also participants in the processes to whom the activities of the other participants are "transferred" (Hopper and Thompson 1980:251), or who are indirectly involved in the processes. In the following section I will discuss these participants, who receive the -ed roles in Hasan's classification.

4.5.2 What Is Done, Seen, and Said in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

When we compare Nanzi and Cha Tiger's apparently equal participation in -er roles as Actors, further examination of the actual verbs in the processes shows that the nature of their participation in the -ed roles is different. In order for a participant to have an -ed role attributed, I considered the whole clause in the Papiamentu text and decided which character was the object of the situation expressed in that clause. In those situations in which the English translation differed from the Papiamentu text in grammatical structure and transitivity, I used the English verb as close as possible to the Papiamentu verb, maintaining the same transitivity as the original. For example: (69) *Cha Tiger a haña duele di Nanzi* 'Cha Tiger found pity of Nanzi' can be interpreted as: "Cha Tiger felt pity for Nanzi" or, "Cha Tiger pitied Nanzi". I chose the first translation, since it duplicates both the content and the grammatical structure as closely as possible; this decision may account for the seemingly quaint tone of some of the translation.

There are 101 transitive verbs contained in the 183 processes in the narrative. These verbs require at least two participants (see section 4.5.1), whereas processes with

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intransitive verbs have only one participant. In table 4.3. (-er roles) I already mentioned the main participants in processes with a transitive verb, together with the main (and only) participants in processes with an intransitive verb. Table 4.4. (see below) contains the -ed roles, which are occupied by the second and third participants in the processes containing a transitive verb (Goals, Phenomena, Possesseds, Verbiages, Targets, and Receivers).

Because Mental and Relational processes may overlap, five -ed roles in the story can be classified either as Phenomenon or as Attribute, depending on the interpretation of the translation from Papiamentu into English. For example, (2) ...*tur hende tabatin masha miedu di dje* '... all the people had a lot of fear of him' can be interpreted as: 1) '...all the people were very afraid of him', or 2) 'all the people feared him a lot'. In 1) 'were very afraid' can be considered as a Relational process in which 'of him' is a circumstantial element (Halliday 1997, 121); in 2) 'fear' is a Mental process in which 'him' is the Phenomenon. I decided to classify the secondary participants of these five processes as Phenomena in a Mental process because their classification as Attributes would not reveal the importance of the Mental processes in the narrative and the transitivity of the English verb in the clause would be in conflict with the transitivity of the Papiamentu verb.

In several Mental processes, the Phenomenon consists of an entire clause, e.g. (58) "Can't you see, how sick I am?", where "see" is the verb of the Mental process and "how sick I am" is the Phenomenon. I therefore decided for each occasion which participant was the referent of that clause, i.e., Nanzi in (58).

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Three processes, which I classified as Mental processes, include the transitive verb *haña* 'find' in Papiamentu. However, I did not consider the second participant in these processes for the -ed roles, because this participant forms one concept with the verb. For example: (47) *Shi Mara no a haña chèns* 'Shi Maria did not find a chance'.

All the processes containing the verb *tin* 'have' are classified as Relational processes, expressing possession, with the exception of (45) *tin kalafriu* 'have fever', which can be considered as one concept. I considered this process as a Behavioral process.

In the Verbal processes I included four participants who are the objects of a preposition, following a verb of saying, for example: (16) *Ma ta ken tabata papia asina di Cha Tiger?* 'But who was talking like that about Cha Tiger?' where "talk about" is equivalent to "criticize" Cha Tiger', and (32) *"Nanzi a hasi bofon di bo"* "'Nanzi made a fool of you"' where "made a fool of' is equivalent to "ridicule." [2]

Another -ed role, the 'Verbiage' which is the object of a transitive verb of saying, does not refer to direct or indirect quotes, which are extremely important for the narrative, as we have seen from the Verbal processes. Direct quotes in particular indicate how Nanzi tricks Cha Tiger through persuasion. Not considering the quotes for the -ed roles would portray a distorted image of the verbal action in the narrative. Therefore, I identified the referent of the quotes which followed the transitive verbs of saying, and I counted each of these referents as "Referent of saying." If a quote consisted of several clauses, I determined for each clause which participant(s) could be considered as the referent(s).

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[2] Halliday (1997, 157) considers the object of the preposition following "talk about" as a circumstantial element equivalent to the "Verbiage." It answers the question "what about?" In the Nanzi story, however, the participant following the verb of saying answers the question: "about whom?" I therefore classified this participant as a Target.

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To complete the overview of the -ed roles in the narrative, I included several participants of processes containing an intransitive verb: 16 Attributes and two Identified entities. Also included in the -ed roles are five Receivers as indirect participants in a Verbal process. All of the Attributes and Identified entities are inanimate objects: for example, adjectives such as "crazy" (9), "lost" (57), or circumstantial elements of place, such as "there" (96), "in the woods" (1).

In order to have an overview of the characters to whom the Attributes and Possessed entities are assigned, I assigned each entity to the relevant character. The total number of -ed roles in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" is presented in table 4.4. (see below). As it appears from table 4.4., most -ed roles of the main characters in the narrative are assigned to Nanzi and Cha Tiger as equally significant actors in the story. Both characters carry the same number of roles as Phenomenon; thus it seems that they are each perceived in an equal number of occasions by the other participants. However, in three occasions, Nanzi makes himself the object of a Mental process, e.g., (21) You will see (21). No later than tomorrow I am riding on Cha Tiger's back (22). Cha Tiger is the object of Mental processes, such as: people don't trust him (6); people fear him (2). Nanzi also appears as the Referent of Saying in 15 -ed roles vs. Cha Tiger in 9 roles. Thus it seems that Nanzi is promoted to a more salient position in the story, since he receives most of the attention. However, out of the 15 occasions in which I considered Nanzi as the referent of Saying, eight times Nanzi calls attention to himself. In contrast, Cha Tiger is the object of the process of saying, only when the people talk about his strength (6, 67). Objects receiving the -ed roles are for example: "the door" (48); pillow,

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branch (87) as Goal in a Material process. The clause "what happened" (41) as the object of the verb "to look" receives the role of Phenomenon in a Mental process.

Table 4.4 -Ed Roles in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger"

	N	CT	P	SM	SA	Other Animate/Inanimate		Total
Goals	8	3	-	1	-	1	17	30
Phenomenon	9	9	-	-	-	-	7	25
Attribute	2*	6*	3*	-	1*	-	4*	16
Identified	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
Possessed	4*	3*	-	-	-	-	-	7
Verbiage	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Target	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Receiver	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	5
Referent of Saying	15	9	3	2	1	1	5	36
Total	39	39	7	3	2	2	38	130

*Note: All of the Attributes and Possessed entities are inanimate objects. The asterisked numbers indicate to which character they are assigned and how many times.

A comparison of Tables 4.3. and 4.4. shows that the people in the narrative talk and observe more than that they are seen or talked about. They participate in ten Senser roles and seven Sayer roles vs. no role as Phenomenon and three roles as Referent of saying.

In conclusion, following Halliday's process analysis, which resulted in a total of 183 processes in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," produced an image of what is done in the Nanzi story (Table 4.1.). Table 4.2. relates the main participants in all those processes to the characters in each episode. Application of this method, however, is subject to a

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variety of interpretations. Other analysts may interpret the processes mentioned in this chapter differently, and therefore assign different participant roles to the characters in the story. But, I defined here my criteria for making the assignments and I have assigned each role with consistency.

Application of Hasan's (1989) theory, based on Halliday's approach, leads to the consideration of -er roles, which classifies the first participants in the processes as Actors, Sensers, Carriers, Identifiers, Possessors, Behavers, Sayers and Existents. Consideration of the -er roles answers the question of who does what in the narrative. In addition, observation of the transitivity of the verbs expressed in the processes, also defines to whom something is done, i.e. who is affected by the actions (Goals), what is seen or heard (Phenomena), what are the Attributes of a character, how he/she is identified and what he/she possesses, and what is said (Verbiage and Referent of Saying). It also explains who is the Receiver and who is the Target of the saying. The -er and -ed role in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" were presented in Table 4.3. and 4.4. Combining Halliday's and Hasan's approaches for the analysis of characters in the Nanzi story resulted in a more detailed description of the personalities of its characters than does either method taken alone. These personalities are not consciously evident to the reader at first sight. Rather, we feel these personalities, but do not recognize the linguistic means by which they have been created.

Nanzi's use of persuasion as a means to obtain his goal portrays him as an all too human-like being. Also Cha Tiger's feelings of compassion for Nanzi demonstrates a human characteristic, and therefore Cha Tiger can also be considered as human-like. All

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the further actions of the main characters and the other characters in the narrative resemble events which occur in our own lives. It is therefore very clear that the world of the narrative is a reflection of the human world. However, the way this world is perceived by the reader depends both on the narrative text and the cultural background of that reader.

The image of the different characters of the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" which arise from the analysis can be described as follows. Nanzi and Cha Tiger are the "doers" in the story, although Nanzi speaks nearly as often as he acts. Cha Tiger's voice can be heard on a few occasions but it gradually disappears. Episode 5 is an especially dramatic episode, as the tiger at this moment becomes the victim of Nanzi's persuasive trickery.

People are the observers; they see what is happening. They also play a role as messengers; their voice is heard in several instances throughout the story, but they are less visible than Nanzi and Cha Tiger. Shi Maria and Shon Arei's voices are not heard in the narrative, although their presence and actions are crucial to the story. Shi Maria does what she is told to do, thereby assisting Nanzi in his role as trickster. Shon Arei is the final authority who has to judge the victory of Nanzi over Cha Tiger. The people and Cha Tiger both have their fears, which are real feelings within the world of the narrative, whereas Nanzi's emotions are only a false facade; he is presumably not afraid and is supposedly sick. Between the moment when he pretends not to be afraid of Cha Tiger and the instance when he pretends to be very weak, his fearful behavior shows that his boasting is only bravado. Through the analysis we see that Cha Tiger gradually changes

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from a determined angry tiger who wants to enact revenge upon Nanzi to a gradually submissive tiger who agrees with everything that Nanzi says. We also see that Nanzi seems not to be afraid of the tiger, although in reality he trembles when he hears him coming. Yet through his words Nanzi is able to carry out his trickster plan.

The division into episodes makes us aware of the hightened verbal action in episode 5, which is the key locus of the expression of Nanzi's persuasive trickery. The high percentage of verbal action in the story in general shows us how important speech is for the story. Through the observation of Nanzi's persuasive speech and Cha Tiger's feeling of compassion and resulting submission emerges an image of human-like characters. The very humanity of the characters makes the story memorable. Without Nanzi's persuasive voice and Cha Tiger's gradually disappearing voice, this story would not be the same trickster story of the weak spider overpowering the strong tiger.

In the present section I presented an analysis of characters based on the clauses in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger". I also found evidence for the human-like personalities of the characters, thus confirming that the perception of a character depends on the narrative text and the image which a reader creates of that character. In the following section I will discuss King's (1992) approach to narrative analysis, based on different elements which relate characters to each other and which considers the incentives for the actions of the characters.

4.6 Interrelationship of Characters: King

As I mentioned in section 2.1.8, King (1992) emphasizes the importance of the actors in a story, which differs from Propp's emphasis on plot elements. Both King and Propp,

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however, agree that actors can have many roles in a narrative. In section 4.2, I showed that Nanzi and other characters can indeed fulfill more than one role but the following analysis will show that only Nanzi takes on the role of persuader and that only Cha Tiger demonstrates the characteristic of compassion.

King's theory proposes that there are five essential elements in a narrative. 1) The Actors are the key elements. Because actors, just like human beings, develop their personalities through the acquisition of knowledge, and the awareness of a shared environment, their relationship with other characters is extremely important. Readers can observe this relationship by watching the characters act. 2) The Vectors, which include every type of feelings, i.e. ideas which are exchanged between actors, feelings of hurt, acceptance, rejections, or confusion demonstrate the relationship among the characters. 3) The Power Source is the driving force behind the ventures of the actor. Inner strength, for example, is a power source. Some situations create a favorable or negative influence on the motivations of the actor to take action. 4) The Physical Context, or place in which the characters act, in combination with their circumstances can either prevent or help characters to achieve their goals. 5) The dramatic moment, the denouement, explains why it was worthwhile to tell the story (Compare Labov's Evaluation, section 2.2.1).

I will discuss King's elements in relation to the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" in order to complete the insight in the world of the narrative which the analysis of Halliday/Hasan already provided. Taking King's elements into consideration provides further evidence that characters are human like, that their personalities are revealed by

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the narrative text, and that the image the reader develops of the character is derived from the text. From section 4.5.1 it is evident that Nanzi and Cha Tiger are the main actors in the narrative. The people are also important actors, although they are less prominent than Nanzi and Cha Tiger. Minor actors are the characters Shi Maria and Shon Arei. In section 4.2, I discussed my reasons for including all the characters in a character analysis. The people, who seemed to be background figures at first, turn out to be important elements in the narrative. In terms of -er roles, the people received 27, Nanzi had 75 roles, and Cha Tiger had 55 roles. King's approach to narrative analysis will further support my view that all actors should be considered for character analysis.

1. Actors

1a) Nanzi as boaster

King considers characters against the background of the world in which they live, which is the world of the tale or, "the bright shadow world" (1992:7). In that world, a character can build up his identity by several factors, such as boasting, recognition, and social involvements with others. Boasting provokes tensions between the opponents which leads to the increase of courage on the part of the boaster (King 1992:121). This evidently applies to Nanzi, who boasts that he is not afraid of the tiger (12). All eyes are directed towards Nanzi: (16) "But who was speaking like this about Cha Tiger?" As a result of this situation Nanzi bets that he will ride on Cha Tiger's back the next day (20). Other social factors which determine the identity of a character are evident from consideration of the vectors which interconnect the different characters in the narrative (see later in this section).

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1b) Nanzi as clever personality

Nanzi possesses a special kind of cleverness. He always outwits the people around him because he anticipates their reactions. In story 2, this means that Nanzi expects a) compassion from Cha Tiger: the tiger feels pity for Nanzi (69); and b) the admiration of the other members of his community: at the peak: Everybody shouts: Long live Nanzi (93).

1c) Nanzi as a character with low moral standards

Nanzi first confuses the tiger by playing sick (58) and then uses Cha Tiger's lack of astuteness and abundance of compassion to persuade him to bring Nanzi to Cha Tiger (64-69). But even then, Nanzi shows no signs of appreciation or kindness. On the contrary, he hits the tiger (90) after they leave the forest and finally humiliates Cha Tiger in front of the people and Shon Arei (92).

From this analysis thus Nanzi's personality emerges as a boasting, clever character with low moral standards.

1d) Cha Tiger as a physically strong, and compassionate tiger

Cha Tiger is a character with power, because of his physical strength (6). However, Cha Tiger also emerges as a tiger who feels compassion, which is a typical human characteristic. Nanzi exploits Cha Tiger's feelings of compassion, and tricks him by persuasion so that the tiger submits to everything that Nanzi asks of him (71,79).

1e) Cha Tiger as enchanted tiger

Cha Tiger even gives the impression of becoming enchanted through Nanzi's speech. Enchantment in the bright shadow world is a negative factor. An enchanted person

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seems to be overwhelmed by a feeling of helplessness. Cha Tiger indeed seems not to know how to act when he perceives Nanzi as being sick. The tiger completely forgets the purpose of his visit to Nanzi because his attention is diverted. Instead of Cha Tiger's anger, Nanzi's supposed sickness (58) becomes Cha Tiger's focus of attention. Cha Tiger appears not to be in control of his own life any longer. He becomes unable to use his power to destroy Nanzi. Eventually, he feels completely under Nanzi's power, which leads to him being ridiculed and finally disappearing into the forest in shame.

Another negative factor of enchantment is sleep, because one looses his abilities to take advantage of opportunities or to defend oneself. Nanzi seems to be asleep when Cha Tiger enters his house (50), but this is only a pose, because he is very aware of every move of the tiger and awaits his opportunity to confront him with a persuasive voice.

1f) People as observers and messengers

There is a network of people in the story. They sit together under a tamarind tree to discuss the problem they confront: their fear of Cha Tiger (4-8). The people are very much aware of what is happening. Anxiously, they gather around Shon Arei (26), and stand at the side of the road when Nanzi is on his way to Shon Arei (89). People watch behind their curtains to see what Cha Tiger does when he is on his way to Nanzi's house (40, 41). The people of the community thus function as observers.

People also have a function as messengers in the narrative. Shon Arei knows about Nanzi's bet; thus someone of the people must have informed him. One of the people also informs Cha Tiger about Nanzi's challenge to ride on his back (36). Therefore, the identity of the people is established by their roles in the community.

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1 g) Shon Arei as authority

Shon Arei is the authority in the story. This is shown in part by the fact that he knew what had happened (24). Also, people gather in the street around Shon Arei's palace in the morning after Nanzi bets that he will ride the tiger (26). Shon Arei assumes or is granted the authority to make the final judgment when Nanzi arrives in the village on Cha Tiger's back (92). Shon Arei does not speak or act in the narrative, but his presence is felt in an active fashion. His identity arises from the reactions of the community.

1h) Shi Maria as helper

Shi Maria is a passive participant. She is pushed aside by Cha Tiger, when he enters Nanzi's house (49). Also, Shi Maria does what Nanzi tells her to do: she puts a cushion on Cha Tiger's back and puts a cord in his mouth (73, 81). Thus, her role in the narrative is a helper.

2. Vectors

2a) Moral Vectors - vectors of reward

Many vectors connect the members of Nanzi's community. Nanzi has made a bet (15) which means that strong moral vectors oblige him to adhere to his bet. But Nanzi also knows that he will eventually be rewarded. Initially, negative vectors of surprise and ridicule connect Nanzi with the people. Nanzi's remark that he is not afraid of Cha Tiger (12) causes the people to roll over the ground from laughing (12). They all know that Nanzi is boasting because he is only a tiny spider. All eyes are directed towards Nanzi when he says that he will ride Cha Tiger as he would ride a donkey (15). At the end of the story, when Nanzi sits on Cha Tiger's back in front of Shon Arei, moral bound

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vectors of reward, expressed by the applause of the audience, are flowing from the community towards Nanzi (92).

2b) Vectors of calculation/persuasion - vectors of confusion/compassion

In Nanzi's house, vectors of calculation and persuasion from Nanzi towards Cha Tiger and vectors of confusion and compassion from Cha Tiger towards Nanzi are flowing across each other. The feeling of confusion emitted by Cha Tiger is so strong (65) that it allows Nanzi to play his trick which permits him to ride on the tiger's back (75). Nanzi continues to take advantage of Cha Tiger's confusion when he takes the branch to chase the mosquitos (85). Meanwhile, Nanzi's calculations and persuasion are what lead to Cha Tiger's compassion.

2c) Vectors of fear

In the first part of the story, the tiger inspires fear among all the people, which is a very strong vector of power. This vector of fear is connected to the people such that they flee when they see Cha Tiger (3), and barely dare to talk to him (28). Fear also connects Cha Tiger with Nanzi, whose teeth are chattering when he hears him approaching his house (45). Fear relates Cha Tiger to Shi Maria as well. She is deadly afraid when she hears Cha Tiger knocking on the door (48).

However, Nanzi, the people and Shi Maria are not the only ones who are afraid. The tiger himself becomes frightened also, because Nanzi makes the tiger believe that he [Nanzi] is sick (64). Later in the story, Nanzi frightens Cha Tiger again, when he [Nanzi] hits the tiger very hard (90).

Thus the actor who controls the vectors of power (physical) at the beginning of the story is not the same actor as the one who controls the vectors of power (mental) at the

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end of the story. Initially it is Cha Tiger whose strength and anger controls the people. By the end of the story, it is Nanzi who mentally controls the submissive tiger.

2d) Vectors of shame - vectors of relief

Cha Tiger understands how Nanzi has tricked and humiliated him in front of everybody. Therefore, feelings of shame towards the community accompany Cha Tiger when he finally disappears in the woods (94,95).

Thus, vectors of fear and shame unite Cha Tiger with Nanzi, the people and Shi Maria. Vectors of fear also connect the people to each other. They are united by their fear for Cha Tiger (2); vectors of curiosity connect them when they gather in the street around Shon Arei (26) and when they hide behind their curtains (41); and they share their feelings of relief when Nanzi's moment of victory comes (92).

Shon Arei is the authority. Thus strong vectors of power connect him with Nanzi and the people. Shon Arei knows what happens (24) and he makes the final judgment (92). Therefore, vectors of respect relate the people to Shon Arei.

Shi Maria only shows fear (48) and submissiveness (73, 81), neither of which are directed at Shon Arei. Vectors of fear do connect her to Cha Tiger and her relationship with Nanzi is a vector of subordination.

3. Power Sources

3a) Nanzi is a tiny spider who depends on his inner strength and cleverness as power sources to outwit Cha Tiger. His wit allows him to plan cunningly how to deceive Cha Tiger and his inner strength helps him to achieve his goal: to control and humiliate the tiger in front of the entire community and Shon Arei.

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Luck can be another important power source which motivates a character to act. However, Nanzi's luck depends on Cha Tiger's lack of astuteness. Cha Tiger does not comprehend Nanzi's reaction when he confronts Nanzi in his house and encounters Nanzi sleeping. Cha Tiger, in his fury (38, 40), or even without being angry, could have destroyed Nanzi in a second. Because of his luck, however, Nanzi can execute his plans.

3b) Cha Tiger's power source is his physical strength. Because of this strength people are afraid of him. However, as we have seen earlier in this section, Cha Tiger's physical strength is not a power source as potent as Nanzi's inner strength.

3c) The people can be considered a power source behind Nanzi. The prospect that Nanzi will be rewarded by the admiration and gratitude of the other members of the community if he rides on Cha Tiger's back to Shon Arei (and thereby drives the tiger away) motivates Nanzi to keep his bet.

3d) Shon Arei is a power source for the community. Because of his social position, his appreciation of Nanzi's defeat of the powerful tiger is the ultimate power source for Nanzi. Without Shon Arei's presence, Nanzi's victory would not have the same impact.

4. Contextual situations

4a) Several contextual situations in the story allow the characters to act. People commonly gather together, but one voice may emerge. One of the people of the community discusses the problem which they confront regularly: the fear which they share of Cha Tiger (8). In this situation Nanzi, because of his boastful character, cannot refrain himself from reacting. Therefore, Nanzi remarks that he is not afraid of Cha Tiger (12), and bets that he will ride on the tiger's back the following day (5).

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4b) The fact that Cha Tiger suddenly appears in the village the morning after Nanzi makes his bet allows the people to inform the tiger about what Nanzi has said (27). Nanzi is therefore obliged to keep his bet.

4c) Cha Tiger is approaching Nanzi's house roaring and yelling, Nanzi knows that he will soon be in his [Nanzi's] house (43). This situation allows Nanzi to plan in the meantime how to escape Cha Tiger's anger. Once Cha Tiger has arrived in Nanzi's house and shows signs of confusion, Nanzi uses the situation to continue his game of persuasion until Cha Tiger submits to his trickery.

4d) The setting of the woods creates an excellent opportunity for Nanzi to complain about the mosquitos (83). Tearing off a branch to chase the mosquitos away seems acceptable in this situation.

4e) People are gathered along the road when Nanzi and Cha Tiger arrive before Shon Arei (89). All together in this context they form an audience for Nanzi's performance as a hero. Without the presence of the people and Shon Arei, Nanzi's victory would not have the same impact.

4f) The words uttered by Nanzi when he stands in front of Shon Arei and the shouting of the people are the initiatives for Cha Tiger to disappear to the place where he would live in the future, the forest.

5. Denouement

The denouement connects all the vectors of negative mental states, such as, confusion, shame; vectors of other mental attitudes, such as curiosity, surprise and ridicule; vectors of power, such as fear, moral obligation, calculation, persuasion.

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The denouement is the moment of victory of Nanzi. He dominates the situation at this moment. The source of people's fear is incapacitated. Shon Arei's authority is reconfirmed. Strong vectors of harmony unite all the characters of Nanzi's world.

In conclusion, King's approach to narrative analysis gives the reader or listener not only an insight in the characters of the Nanzi story, but it also explains why characters act in a certain manner. Their actions depend on their relationships with each other and the environment which creates the opportunity to act. The narrative "Nanzi i Cha Tiger" therefore shows strong mental vectors and vectors of power. That inner strength is a strong power source was evident from the fact that Nanzi, a tiny spider, controls Cha Tiger by outwitting him. Also authority and the community themselves are strong powers behind the actors. For example, making a bet among the members of a community has strong moral and social implications, which force Nanzi to fulfill his promise.

Observation of the physical context shows the circumstances which allow an actor to take action. Thus, the fact that one of the members of the community says that he is afraid of the tiger provokes Nanzi, who is always boastful, to bet that he will ride on Cha Tiger's back. The denouement is the climax of the story which connects all the actors and vectors to power sources and favorable situations. It is the moment of Nanzi's victory and Cha Tigers final humiliation.

A comparison between Halliday/Hasan's and King's approach shows that an analysis following Halliday/Hasan answers the question: "Who does what to whom in the story?", whereas King's elements provide an anwer to the question: "Who does what and why?"

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A character analysis based on Halliday/Hasan depends on the clauses as they appear in the narrative text. Personalities of the characters based on King's elements are deduced from the discourse as it reveals the power, vectors, and other forces motivating the characters (see section 4.2). Thus when Nanzi (as Senser in Halliday's Mental process) says that he is not afraid of Cha Tiger, Nanzi is the boaster in King's analysis, encouraged by the reactions of the people. And when Nanzi makes his bet (as Sayer in a Verbal process), King's analysis presents Nanzi as witty because he knows that the other members of the community are morally obliged to reward him. Consideration of Halliday's Verbal processes also indicate that Nanzi mostly talks about himself, thus making himself the object of focalization. An analysis following King's point of view presents Nanzi as a boaster (situation: bet), liar (situation: false pretense), and a persuader (confusing Cha Tiger who seems to be enchanted because his attention is diverted). Application of Halliday/Hasan's approach evidences that people in the narrative observe and communicate messages whereas King's approach shows how they are united by their feelings of fear and relief. And, when Shon Arei is described as the authority who knows and sees (as Senser in Halliday's Mental process), following King's analysis, Shon Arei is empowered by the reactions of the people, who gather around him (comparable to "the focalized" in Bal's theory of focalization).

A character analysis using Halliday/Hasan and King's approaches presents the characters in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" as human-like elements in a narrative. Astuteness, boasting, relations of power, shame, fear, and specially persuasion and compassion combine to make the characters very human-like. Therefore, when readers

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remember a Nanzi story, they do not only remember Nanzi and Cha Tiger in their role as hero and victim, but they will mostly remember how the tiny witty spider as boaster and persuader tricks the powerful but enchanted tiger who is completely confused by Nanzi's words.

In this chapter I discussed how the character has been neglected in narrative analysis for a long period of time, although the character is one of the most important elements in a narrative. I also considered how characters can stand out in a narrative text through the use of focalization and direct speech. The role of the narrator in using these techniques is important because he is the agent who presents the characters. Through his voice and also following the vision of the focalizer, the reader is able to visualize the character. However, the question if the character has to be considered as a human-like being is a point of debate among structuralists, as I pointed out at the beginning of this chapter. Using Halliday's process analysis and Hasan's application of this theory to the narrative "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger" I demonstrated that characters behave in the same manner as human beings do. But, above all, they also persuade and feel compassion, characteristics which are distinctively human. Following King's proposal to consider several elements which always occur in a tale, the reasons behind the actions of the characters in the Nanzi story appear. Beneath Nanzi's boasting, persuasion and final discourse which confirms his defeat of Cha Tiger, lie vectors of control, moral obligations, fear which are binding factors but also driving powers behind the action of Nanzi and the other characters. These vectors express the interrelationship between the different characters as an image of the real world.

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Nanzi and the other characters received a role in the narrative and sometimes these roles could be reversed, but considering the fine grained analysis of the characters in the Nanzi story based on the approaches of Halliday/Hasan and King, it is difficult to deny that characters are human-like. This is the reason why readers will remember a character and the mechanism through which they can relate to it.

In the following chapter I will combine my proposal for the narrative structure of the Nanzi stories, which includes the events in the story, with the analysis of the characters in story 2 in order to present my final conclusions about the narratives.

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CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

Every society has its stories and human beings tell each other stories during their entire lives. We remember stories which were told when we were children, and we recognize certain types of story. We also can easily recognize if a story belongs to our culture or not. How do we know these things? We recognize stories because they have an underlying narrative structure, which organizes the content of the story into segments. Thus, for example, in a collection of folk stories, the same pattern appears (with variants) for every story, and when we listen to it or read it, we have certain expectations about the sequence of the events and we especially anticipate the most important moment of the story, the peak.

We also recognize stories because of the characters. Even when the names of the characters are different, when their actions are similar in different versions, we still consider the story as a certain type of story. The story type I focus on is the spider/ trickster story which appears in many cultures all over the world. Most readers form an image of a character in their mind. Two questions thus arise: 1) How do we decide what the narrative structure of a certain type of narrative is? 2) What are the characters like and which elements in the narrative text do we use as the basis for creating an image of characters?

The above analysis is of a collection of Nanzi trickster stories from Curaçao. I decided to focus on this specific collection, because of 1) the importance of the stories for the literary history and current tradition in Curaçao, and 2) my own interest in the

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stories, which combines with my interest in Papiamentu, and 3) because I am aware that Nanzi stories are remembered very vividly by people from Curaçao and those people who once lived on the island and are presently settled in other parts of the world. The enthusiastic reactions of people when I asked them if they were familiar with the Nanzi stories reconfirms their importance.

5.2 Narrative Structure

For my analysis I combined several approaches to narrative analysis, which can be grouped into four general categories: 1) Van Dijk (1975; 1982;1992); Labov (1972); Propp (1994); Barthes (1975); Chatman (1978); 3) Hasan (1989), Halliday (1997), King (1992); Bal (1985; 1991); 4) Toolan (1995). I used the theories of the first and second group of authors to propose a narrative structure for the Nanzi stories, which are famous as folktales, and spider trickster stories. The works of the third group of authors were useful for my detailed analysis of the characters in "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger," the sample story in this study. Toolan (1995) provided a point of departure for my discussion of story, narrative and discourse, since it is an insightful critical overview of many aspects of narrative, including earlier and recent theories of narrative analysis.

Several theorists (Schiffrin 1994; Van Dijk 1982; 1992) admit the difficulty and subjectivity involved in isolating narrative units. When reading the Nanzi stories, I noticed immediately that they contained a considerable number of temporal indicators. Temporal indicators can also function as discourse markers (Schiffrin 1988, Van Dijk (1982) which demarcate the beginning and/or end of a narrative unit. Van Dijk (1982) proposes the episode as primary building block of narrative. Beginning with discourse

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markers, then, I undertook the challenge of applying Van Dijk's theory of demarcation of episodes to one of the Nanzi stories.

Another salient feature of all of the narratives in the Nanzi stories is that each story begins with an introduction of one or more sentences, which explains a problematic situation which holds at the beginning of the story (hunger, envy, etc.). This introduction corresponds with Labov's Abstract and/or Orientation, two of the six sections in which Labov divides a narrative. Since Labov's analysis was based on oral narratives, and the Nanzi corpus was indirectly transcribed from oral narratives, I applied Labov's theory of narrative structure as an alternative way to consider the division of the Nanzi stories into different units.

As already implied in Labov's labels of Orientation, etc., divisions of narratives into component units depends also on the semantic content of that part of discourse, to which a topic (which Van Dijk calls a macro-structure) can be assigned. Van Dijk also states that it is difficult to determine what the topic is for a certain part of discourse and that this determination often depends on the reader's intuition. Isolating units of topic depends in part upon narrative elements which call the attention of the reader/listener. It was in the determination of major events in a narrative, that the concepts of nuclei and kernels (proposed by Barthes and Chatman repectively) appeared to be useful.

5.3 An Innovation: Inseparability of Narrative Structure from Character

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Nanzi stories, one which engages the reader/listener immediately, is the feeling of being involved in the world of the story. Characters are presented in such a manner that they seem to be real beings. The speech

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of the characters in the Nanzi stories most especially calls the attention of the reader, and Nanzi's voice is the loudest. In addition to speaking, characters also perform actions, witness events occur, and express their feelings. I, therefore, decided that an explanation of the world of the narrative could not be complete without analyzing each character, and taking into account the importance of speech events and other events which occurred in that world. Ultimately, this analysis would reconfirm the notion that a reader/listener has of the characters in the narrative. Hasan's theory of narrative analysis, based on Halliday's approach to the clause, which was until now only applied to poetry, seemed to offer a productive approach for the analysis of characters in the Nanzi stories. Combining the two approaches provided me with a method to obtain an overview of all the actions, feelings and especially the speech events in the narrative. Including King's emphasis on actors and their relationships, which underlies the actions of the characters, provided an additional dimension to the character analysis resulting from the combined approach of Hasan and Halliday.

Characters in the Nanzi stories seem very human-like. Why does the reader develop this image? What are the mechanisms in the narrative text that bring these qualities out? I applied Bal's theory of focalization, where a focalizer and an implied spectator focus together on a character. Combined with the point of view of a narrator who presents the character to us, as the implied reader, we "see" and imagine the character. By applying this further level of perspective, I was able to round out the character analysis of Hasan, Halliday and King in order to provide a fully human-like image of the characters and their world.

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5.4 Analysis of Papiamentu Spider/Trickster Stories

Having established my analytical framework, I first approached my sample story with a combination of the approaches of Van Dijk (1982) and Labov (1967) who both divide discourse into subunits which together form the global discourse. Van Dijk (1982; 1992) divides discourse into episodes, based on macro-structures which include macro-propositions. Van Dijk considers macro-structures also to be the base for narrative categories. Interestingly, those narrative categories are highly similar to thoses stipulated by Labov (1967): Setting (comparable to Labov's Orientation), Complication (comparable to Labov's Complicating actions), Resolution, Evaluation and Moral (comparable to Labov's Coda)(see section 2.2.1). Because both Van Dijk and Labov take larger parts of discourse into consideration and arrive at similar higher level discourse structures, despite their construction of analysis from different component units, I applied both approaches to the story "Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger, and showed where they overlap.

Whereas Van Dijk (1982; 1992) applies his approach to written discourse, to arrive at his theory about macro-propositions and macro-structures, Labov takes elicited oral narratives as the basis for developing his theory of narrative construction. I applied both theories to stories which were originally oral (told by African slaves who were transported to the Caribbean and South America, see chapter 1), some of which were written down sometime near the end of the 19th century. The corpus of Nanzi stories is thus unique. It also differs from Van Dijk's and Labov's narratives in that they are written in the creole language Papiamentu instead of in English. Nevertheless, I

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demonstrated how the division of discourse following Van Dijk and Labov also applied neatly to a narrative in Papiamentu.

I used Barthes' and Chatman's approach to discourse units (nuclei and kernels) to make decisions about the macro-structure or topic of the episodes. Nuclei and events constitute the major events in a narrative, which draw the immediate attention of the reader. Propp was perhaps the first to consider the major events in a narrative. Since his approach pioneered the study of folktale narrative, I therefore felt obliged to compare Propp's analysis of functions (major events) in a narrative with the major events in the Nanzi story. This was an interesting comparison, because Propp's functions are based exclusively on the analysis of Russian folktales, whereas the events in the Nanzi stories occur in Papiamentu folktales. It turned out that only two of the 31 functions which Propp proposes could be applied to the Nanzi story.

Although Barthes and Chatman discuss major events in their works, they do not provide useful examples for other researchers to follow. They simply define the major event as one which opens the road for the further development of the narrative into at least two new directions. As far as I know, no analyst has considered a full text in terms of nuclei and kernels. Therefore, to determine if Barthes' and Chatman's work were suitable to my goals, I considered every major event in the sample story in order to demonstrate that major events indeed have "seedlike" qualities as Barthes advocates and are "branching points" which open possibilities, as Chatman proposes.

Although many scholars have focused on the event, few have considered the event and character together. Consequently, I have not encountered until this moment an analysis which discusses narrative structure and characters together.

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Having decided that Nanzi stories must be understood in terms of both narrative structure and character, I applied several analyses of characters to my corpus. Hasan's analysis of characters and events, based on Halliday's approach to the clause, is the only application of Halliday's theory and Hasan uses it to analyze a poem. I combined both approaches and applied them to a narrative. Furthermore, since the narrative is written in a creole language, this presented an additional challenge. Because Halliday's approach is designed for the English syntactic system, several dilemma's in decisions about grammatical categories arose. Nonetheless, the application revealed important aspects of the characters in the Nanzi story, and opened up the possibility of applying the method I developed to other narratives.

Applying Bal's theory of narrator and focalizer helped to explain why the Nanzi stories give readers the impression that they find themselves within the world of the narrative. However, whereas Bal only mentions a few different examples of her theory about narrator and focalizer through very short narrative passages, I, in turn, applied her theory to an entire narrative. Through my analysis I showed how the different techniques (e.g., narrator and focalizer) of presenting characters in a narrative can also be applied profitably to bring out the role and qualities of characters in a lengthy narrative in a creole language.

Thus, I combined and applied a wide range of different approaches to narrative, i.e. Van Dijk and Labov; Propp, Barthes and Chatman; Hasan, Halliday and Bal, and demonstrated that several of these theories complement each other. However, from observation of the various approaches it is also evident that not all of the theories consider the analysis from the same perspective.

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5.5 Evaluation of Different Approaches to Narrative Structure

Part of the structure of narrative involves major and minor events. Propp, Barthes and Chatman all agree that only those events which have consequences for the further development of the narrative are major events.

Van Dijk and Labov's approaches focus on larger discourse units, i.e. the episode and clause respectively However, together with discourse markers, Van Dijk's episodes are also determined by macro-structures which must depend in one way or the other on major events in the narrative or other type of discourse. And, although Labov does not discuss the semantic organization of the narratives he analyzed, his decisions about narrative division are partially based on the topic referring to each category of narrative components. Therefore, theories of narrative analysis include the consideration of major events, whether discussed explicitly (Propp, Barthes, and Chatman) or implied in the larger categories of discourse units which they propose (Van Dijk and Labov).

Van Dijk (1982) bases part of his analysis on place and time orientations as demarcations of episodes, whereas Labov (1972) does not discuss these transitions, leaving it to the listener or reader to decide where a new narrative section begins, although some implied notion of "topic" will be the decisive factor, as I mentioned above.

Van Dijk (1982) also bases his decisions on episodes partially on discourse markers, which may occur at the beginning of every episode; Labov (1972) does not discuss discourse markers at all. Labov uniquely focusses on an aspect of narrative that no other analysts of narrative structure appear to consider: Evaluation. Labov mentions several devices which are dispersed throughout the oral narratives he analyzes.

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Van Dijk's narrative structure proposes macro-structures as the base for episodes which contain propositions; Labov's narrative structure refers to clauses which include major events which are stable in the narrative, while clauses containing minor events may be moved within the section or the entire narrative. One of the reasons that Evaluation is so mobile is that it is significant not so much to the structure of the story, but to its meaning. Evaluation functions in part to justify the status of the story as important enough to tell. It also may include references to attributes of characters. Van Dijk's discussion is not concerned with the mobility of propositions.

Labov's (1972) work is a careful analysis of oral narratives. Labov is unique in the fact that he emphasizes the context in which the stories of his analysis originated and who were the narrators of the stories. However, Labov deals with one single kind of narrative of a particular group of speakers (oral narratives); written narratives are not discussed in his work.

In terms of determining narrative structure, Labov relies on a definition of the narrative clause which is very restricted. Only independent clauses with a temporal juncture are considered to be narrative clauses. Habitual actions in the past, for example, are excluded from his consideration of this type of clause. However, for Barthes and Chatman, any event (including habitual actions) which has a consequence for the following development of the narrative, would be a major event.

Van Dijk also mentions, that people construct macro-propositions and macro-structures when reading a story but that they may have to revise their decisions while they are finished reading the story. The concept of macro-structure, on which the

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division in episodes is partially based, is developed in Van Dijk (1992) with supportive examples and a detailed discussion. However, I consider Labov's theory as more representative of how people remember a narrative than Van Dijk's approach. People will probably remember groupings of events or descriptions, beginning with an orientation, but not which event took place on which day. Labov and Van Dijk, however, are similar if one considers that Labov's narrative clause and Van Dijk's macro-proposition include the main events in a narrative.

Thus, combining the theories of Van Dijk and Labov, which allows the division of narratives in larger subunits, and the theories of Barthes and Chatman which propose the consideration of smaller subunits, which are nevertheless the base for the larger subunits, I have developed an approach to the analysis of narrative structure. Through the detailed analysis of story 2, I proposed a narrative structure which underlies, with some modifications, the 32 Nanzi stories of my corpus. I then applied the narrative structure which I developed to the entire corpus, once I had determined that several stories were more complex than the proposed structure. It turns out that the complexity always involves the attachment of another story to the first one. The structure of the additional story is a condensed form of the first story or a different short story. The complex stories suggest that perhaps the trickster stories were told in sequences, where Nanzi plays trick after trick.

5.6 Evaluation of Different Approches to Character

I agree with Chatman in that I also believe that events and characters are equally important elements in a narrative. Events are of course needed in a narrative, because

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without events, nothing would happen. However, events have to be organized in order to make sense and to lead to the most important moment of a narrative, the peak. Through their organization, events are the base for a narrative structure. Major events are connected by minor events but it is always a character who performs that action.

Events have long been considered to be the major element in a narrative. I have discussed how character analysis has been neglected for a long period of time and that only recently interest in character analysis has developed. However, debates about what characters are continue in the present time. Through my analysis, which combines Hasan and Halliday, I have proven that characters can be portrayed as human-like. Rimmon-Kenan (1983) and Toolan (1995) both agree that characters are partially modelled on people in the human world and are therefore human-like. Halliday discusses the clause as presenting all the actions, thoughts, feelings and speech of the human world. I have demonstrated that the world in the Nanzi story presents the same organization of activities as does the real world. Therefore, we can say that the narrative world is in fact a reflection of the human world. This is, of course, one of the reasons why characters seems to be very human-like. However, characters are presented by a narrator, and they are part of a narrative text, thus they only exist on paper or in the air between people when stories are told aloud. Why then do we have the feeling when reading the Nanzi stories or listening to the stories that we "see" the characters?

A comparison between Halliday/Hasan's and King's approach shows that an analysis following Halliday/Hasan answers the question: "Who does what to whom in the story?", whereas King's elements provide an anwer to the question: "Who does what and

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why?" Application of King's approach focusses on the connections between the different characters, whereas Halliday/Hasan's approach considers every character to be a separate entity. A character analysis based on Halliday/Hasan depends on what occurs in the individual clauses as they appear in the narrative text. Personalities of the characters based on King's elements are deduced from multiple aspects of the discourse.

From a comparison of the character analyses resulting from the theories of Hasan/Halliday, King, and Bal it is evident how speech in a narrative is important. Halliday/Hasan's theory helps to reveal the frequency of Nanzi's speech in comparison with other characters and the type of speech he uses, i.e. persuasive discourse. Following King's analysis, the speech of a character influences his relationship with the other characters in the narrative. Bal's theory of narrator/focalizer, however, considers the involvement of the character in the narrative through his/her speech, because he/she is the narrator but also the focalizer at that moment and shows the reader what happens in the story. It is Bal's theory of focalization which makes us "see" a character from multiple perspectives. Bal's focalizer can be compared with a photographer who takes a close-up picture and the object of the photograph is presented in such a manner that one has the impression that he/she nearly touches the object.

From my combination of three analyses Hasan/Halliday, King and Bal, I have developed a means from which arises the character. Together, the analyses explain what the character does, whom he/she affects through his/her actions and speech, and how he/she is related to other characters through his/her actions. We, the readers "see" the character through 1) observation of the actions of the characters, and 2) we use the eyes

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of a focalizer, which may be the character itself or an extradiegetic focalizer who at the same time narrates the story. Through this we learn about the "personality" of the character, as seen from several vantages. From my combination of the three approaches, I have developed a method by which a text analyst or a reader can construct an "all-round" image of the characters in the Nanzi stories. The authors which I used for my analysis of narrative structure and my character analysis, form a continuum of those who only consider events as the most important element in a narrative, such as Propp, Barthes, Labov and Van Dijk; those who consider both events and characters to be important such as Chatman, Hasan/Halliday and Bal, and those who consider characters to be the main element in a narrative, such as King. Propp was the first analyst who considered the structure of narratives. However, he dedicated his analysis to event structure, and did not give importance to characters, because he only considered them as having a role. Chatman, on the contrary considers events and characters both as being important elements in a narrative. And, King only emphasizes the importance of characters in his work.

Narrative analysis thus is especially rewarding when one considers not only the events but also the characters. I consider a narrative as a weaving, like Nanzi's spider web. The heavier threads are the episodes or the larger recurrent patterns, and the finer threads represent the events or functions while the nodes between the threads are the characters which are interrelated with the events. In the middle of the web is the spider, Nanzi, who controls everything and who through his wittiness is able to catch his victim in his web after which he returns to the middle of his web where Nanzi, who is always hungry, savors his catch.

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5.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, in this dissertation, I have developed a method for analyzing a narrative structure which is derived from the combination of several approaches to narrative analysis. Although the authors stipulated different criteria for the consideration of discourse units in a narrative, their approaches overlap. They all consider the major event in one way or the other in their analysis. They also divided parts of discourse in strikingly similar ways.

In this study I also pointed out how it is impossible to consider narrative structure without including characters as well, if one hopes to achieve full understanding of the story. Through the pattern of structure, a reader is able to recognize a story. Characters do not only have roles, the reader is able to assign personality to a character. However, this personality is always based on the narrative text, and depends on the image which the reader creates of the character. One should not forget, however, that this image is always related to the cultural background of the reader. Characters are human-like because their actions and especially speech is a reflection of the actions in our human world. Narrative structure, with which we are familiar, especially for certain types of stories, and the characters in the stories who interconnect the events which form part of the narrative structure, are part of what makes stories such a powerful, enduring, cultural phenomenon, worthy of passing on, sometimes with changes, to a new generation.

Through my analysis I hope to have contributed to the understanding of the narrative structure of the Nanzi stories in Curaçao and stories in general. I also hope that I have

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substantiated my opinion that characters in a narrative are very important, if not equally important as events. Stories are universal and transcultural. They are told in every society. Ideally, one could argue that they have a universal structure; however, this does not seem to be the case. Nevertheless, I hope that the narrative structure that I have developed, when considered against the social background of the author, will lead to an interest in the comparison of narrative structure in stories from different cultures and that my example of character analysis inspires other analysts to consider the characters in other stories somewhere in the world.

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APPENDIX A

NANZI STORY 2 "KOMPA NANZI I CHA TIGER"

Word-by-word translation of the Papiamentu text with free translation into English.

1. Hopi tempu pasá Cha Tiger no tabata biba den mondi, sino kaminda hende
A lot time ago Cha Tiger not IMP live in the forest, but where people
A long time ago Cha Tiger did not live in the forest, but he lived among the people.

tabata biba. *2. Tòg tur hende tabatin masha miedu di dje. 3. Apenas nan*
IMP live However, all people have-IMP a lot fear of him. Barely they
However, all the people feared him a lot. As soon as

weta Cha Tiger punta hanchi nan a hui. 4. Un anochi tabatin un grupo
see Cha Tiger end alley they PERF flee One night there was a group
they saw Cha Tiger at the end of the alley they fled. One night there was a group

di hende sintá bou di un enorme palu di tamarein. 5. E kòmbersashon
of people sit under an enormous tamarind tree The conversation
people sitting under an enormous tamarind tree. The conversation

tabata bai riba Cha Tiger. 6. Un di nan di: Boso sa no,
was go about Cha Tiger One of 3PLU said: 2PLU know not,
was about Cha Tiger. One of them said: You know, don't you,

e kompai ei tin masha forsa i mi no ta konfi'é niun tiki.
that kompader has a lot strength and I not PRES trust 3SG not even a little bit
that kompader has a lot of strength and I don't trust him even a little bit.

7. E mester ta kome hopi mes. 8. Mi tin miedu di dje.
He must PRES eat a lot himself I have fear of him
He must eat a lot. I fear him.

9. Un di nan a kontestá: Ai bo ta kèns. 10. Ta kiko Cha Tiger por
One of 3 PL PERF answer: Oh 2SG PRES crazy FOC what Cha Tiger can
One of them answered: Oh, you are crazy What can Cha Tiger do?

hasi? 11. Blo grita so. 12. Ami sí no tin miedu di dje!
do Nothing else than shout only 1SG yes not have fear of him
He only shouts. I don't fear him!

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13. Klaro ku e mester ta kome hopi. 14. Un kurpa grandi asina
Of course that 3SG must PRES eat a lot A body big thus
Of course he must eat a lot. A big body like his

mester gasta hopi kos, sino ni kana lo e no por kana di
must waste a lot things otherwise not walk FUT 3SG not can walk from
must use a lot, otherwise he will not be able to walk from weakness.

flakesa. 15. Mi ta pusta boso ku mi por sinta lomba meskos ku mi
weakness ISG PRES bet 2PL that 1SG can sit back the same that 1SG
I bet you that I can sit on his back just as I can sit on

por sinta lomba di kualke buriku. 16. Ma ta ken tabata papia asina di Cha Tiger
can sit back of any donkey But FOC who IMP talk thus of Cha Tiger
any donkey's back. But who was talking like that about Cha Tiger?

17. Ta Nanzi! 18. Ai, e hendenan a hari te lora abou.
Be-PRES Nanzi Oh, the people PLU PERF laughed until roll down
It is Nanzi! Oh, the people laughed until they rolled on the ground.

19. Un di nan di: Abo, Nanzi? Cha Tiger ta supla bo plat abou!
One of 3PL say: 2SG, Nanzi? Cha Tiger PRES blow 2SG flat down
One of them said: You Nanzi, Cha Tiger blows you flat on the ground!.

20. Kompa Nanzi a kontestá: No ta ko' i loko mi ta papia.
Kompa Nanzi PERF answer: Not PRES thing of crazy 1SG PRES speak
Kompa Nanzi answered: It is not something foolish I am talking about.

21. Boso lo mira. 22. Mañan mes mi ta kore riba lomba
You FUT see Tomorrow self 1SG PRES run upon back
You will see. No later than tomorrow I am riding on Cha Tiger's back.

di Cha Tiger. 23. Lo e karga mi hiba te seka Shon Arei.
of Cha Tiger FUT 3SG carry me take until close Shon Arei
He will take me to Shon Arei.

24. Su manisé, bon tempran, ya Shon Arei tabata sa tur kos.
In the morning good early already Shon Arei PAST know all thing
Very early in the morning Shon Arei knew everything already.

25. E tabata kurioso pa sa si Nanzi tabatin asina hopi kurashi.
3SG was curious to know if Nanzi had thus a lot courage
He was curious to know if Nanzi had so much courage.

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26. Riba kaya tabatin hopi hende, ansioso pa mira kiko ta bai pasa.
Upon street there was a lot people anxious to see what PRES go happen
There were a lot of people in the street, anxious to see what would happen.

27.Den esei, ata Cha Tiger mes a blo. 28. Un di e hendenan
Suddenly see Cha Tiger himself PERF appear One of the people-PLUR
Suddenly Cha Tiger himself appeared. One of the people

a tuma kurashi kumind'é: Mòru Cha Tiger. 29. Cha Tiger a gruña
PERF take courage greet 3SG Morning Cha Tiger Cha Tiger PERF growl
took the courage to greet him: Morning Cha Tiger. Cha Tiger only growled

so: Grun grun. 30. Cha Tiger, tende un kos aki! 31. Atrobe Cha Tiger
only: Grr., Grr. Cha Tiger, hear a thing here. Again Cha Tiger
Grr., Grr. Cha Tiger, listen to this! Cha Tiger

a gruña: grun, grun. 32. Cha Tiger, Nanzi a hasi bofon di bo.
PERF growl: gr.gr. Cha Tiger, Nanzi PERF make fool of 2SG.
growled again: grr.,grr Cha Tiger, Nanzi has made a fool of you.

33. Awor sí Cha Tiger a keda para pa e tende ta kiko
Now yes Cha Tiger PERF stay stop-PP to 3SG hear FOC what
Now Cha Tiger really stopped to hear what

nan kera bis' é. 34. Nan a konta Cha Tiger loke Nanzi a bisa:
3PL want say SG 3PL PERF tell Cha Tiger what Nanzi PERF say:
they wanted to tell him. They told Cha Tiger what Nanzi had said:

35. Cha Tiger, Nanzi di ku e no tin miedu di bo.
Cha Tiger Nanzi say that 3SG not have fear of 2SG
Cha Tiger, Nanzi says that he does not fear you.

36. E di ku e ta subi sinta riba bo lomba. 37. E di
3SG say that 3SG PRES rise sit upon 2SG-POSS back 3SG say
He says that he will climb on your back. He says

ku bo no tin asina tantu forsa manera nos ta kere.
that 2SG not have thus so much strength like 1PL PRES believe
that you are not as strong as we believe.

38. Ai, Cha Tiger a rabia mashá robes i grita: Mi ta bai p' e.
Oh, Cha Tiger PERF rage many wrong and shout 1SG PRES go to 3SG.
Oh, Cha Tiger was very furious and shouted: I am going to get him.

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39. Mesora Cha Tiger a tumba pa kas di Nanzi.
Immediately Cha Tiger PERF go to house of Nanzi
Immediately Cha Tiger went to Nanzi's house.

40. Henter kaminda Cha Tiger tabata grita furioso. *41. Tur hende a kore*
Whole road Cha Tiger IMP shout furious All people PERF run
The whole road Cha Tiger was shouting furiously All people ran

drenta kas i bai lur na yalusi kiko ta pasa. *42. Kaya a*
enter house and go look at curtain what PRES happen Street PERF
into their house and looked behind the curtains what happened. The street was

keda pa Cha Tiger so. *43. Nanzi tambe a tende e gritamentu*
stay for Cha Tiger only. Nanzi also PERF hear the roaring
for Cha Tiger alone. Nanzi also heard the roaring

di Cha Tiger ku ora pa ora tabata yega mas seka.
of Cha Tiger that steadily IMP arrive more close
of Cha Tiger who steadily came closer.

44. El a spanta bira blek. *45. Su djentenan tabata bati*
3SG PERF frighten turn pale. His tooth-PLU IMP beat
He turned pale from fright. His teeth were chattering

kontra otro manera ora hende tin kalafriu. *46. Sodó tabata basha*
against other as when people have fever Sweat IMP pour
like somebody who has fever Sweat poured

for di su frenta. *47. Shi Maria no a haña chèns*
from 3SG POSS forehead Shi Maria not PER find chance
from his forehead. Shi Maria did not have a chance

di puntra Nanzi nada, pasobra ata Cha Tiger a bati
to ask Nanzi nothing, because here it is Cha Tiger PERF knock
to ask Nanzi anything,because Cha Tiger was already knocking

riba porta di kas manera ta basha e kera basha e porta abou.
upon door of house like PRES pour 3SG want pour the door down
on the door of the house as if he wanted to tear it down.

48. Morto spantá Shi Maria a bai habri porta. *49. Cha Tiger a pusha*
Dead frightened Shi Maria PERF go open door Cha Tiger PERF push
Deadly frightened Shi Maria went to open the door. Cha Tiger pushed

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Shi Maria un banda i kana drenta. *50. Den un huki di kas*
Shi Maria aside and walk enter In a corner of the house
Shi Maria aside and entered. In a corner of the house

el a weta Nanzi drumí barika abou ta tembla.
3SG PERF see Nanzi sleep stomach down FOC tremble
he saw Nanzi sleep on his belly and tremble.

51.Ku bos lastimoso Nanzi di: Kon ta Cha Tiger?
With voice mournful Nanzi said: How 3SGPRES Cha Tiger?
With a mournful voice Nanzi said: How are you, Cha Tiger?

52. Cha Tiger a gruña: Grun, grun! *53. Nanzi, nan a laga sa ku bo*
Cha Tiger PERF growl: gr.gr.! Nanzi, they PERF let know that 2SG
Cha Tiger growled: gr.gr.! Nanzi, they let me know that you

a bofon di mi i awor mi a bin tende di bo mes boka
PERF fool of 1SG and now 1SG PERF come hear from 2SG-POSS own mouth
made a fool of me and now I have come to hear from you own mouth

si ta bèrdè, grun! *54. Poko poko Nanzi a lanta sinta i e di:*
If be-PRES true grr.! Slowly Nanzi PERF rise sit and 3SG say:
if it is true! Slowly Nanzi sat up and said:

55. Ami, Cha Tiger, ami aki papia malu di bo? *56. Ta kon hende bibu*
1SG, Cha Tiger, 1SG here talk bad of 2SG? FOC how people alive
Me, Cha Tiger, I am talking bad about you? How can human beings

por ta malu asina? *57. Mundu ta pèrdi.*
can be-PRES bad thus ? World be-PRES lost-PP
be so bad? The world is lost.

58. Bo no ta mira kon malu mi ta aki?
2SG not PRES see how bad 1SG be-PRES here?
Can't you see how sick I am ?

59. Nanzi a warda un poko, manera hende ku no por hala rosea drechi,
Nanzi PERF wait a little bit like people that not can draw breath straight,
Nanzi waited a little like somebody who cannot breath properly,

kaba el a sigui papia ku mesun bos lastimoso:
finally 3SG PERF continue speak with same voice mournful:
finally he continued to speak with the same mournful voice:

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60. Shi Maria kera hiba mi seka Shon Arei, pasobra mi no tin sèn
Shi Maria want bring 1SG close Shon Arei, because 1SG not have cent
Shi Maria wants to bring me to Shon Arei, because I don't have money

pa kumpra yerba. 61. Aya un hende sabí por weta mi i kura mi.
to buy herbs There a person wise can see 1SG and cure 1SG
to buy herbs. A wise person there can see me and cure me.

62. Ami....ai, mi no por papia mas. 63. Agotá Nanzi a kai
1SG...ay, 1SG not can speak more Exhausted Nanzi PERF fall
Ay, I can't speak anymore. Exhausted Nanzi fell

riba su barika atrobe i el a keha: Ami tata
on his stomach again and 3SG PERF complain: I father
on his stomach again and complained: Me, father of nine children.

di muebe yu. 64. Cha Tiger a spanta. 65. El a pensa:
of nine child Cha Tiger PERF frighten. 3SG PERF think:
Cha Tiger got frightened. He thought:

Nanzi ta malu di berde mes. 66. Dios sa nó ta muri e ta
Nanzi PRES sick really same God knows not PRES die 3SG PRES
Nanzi is really sick. God knows if he is not going to die.

bai muri 67. Nanzi a bolbe kuminsá papia:Cha Tiger abo tin forsa.
go die Nanzi PERF again begin talk Cha Tiger 2SG have strenght
Nanzi began to talk again: Cha Tiger you are strong.

68. Bo no por hiba mi seka Shon Arei?
2SG not can bring 1SG to Shon Arei?
Can't you bring me to Shon Arei?

69. Cha Tiger a haña duele di Nanzi i di: Subi riba mi lomba numa.
ChaTiger PERF find pity of Nanzi and said: Climb on 1SG-POSS back then
Cha Tiger was sorry for Nanzi and said: Climb on my back then.

70. Pero Nanzi di: Ai, mi no por, henter mi kurpa ta hasi due.
But Nanzi said: Oh, 1SG not can, all 1SG-POSS body PRES do pain
But Nanzi said: Oh, I can't, my whole body hurts.

71. Laga Shi Maria pone un kusinchi riba bo lomba.
Let Shi Maria put a cushion on 2SG back
Let Shi Maria put a cushion on your back

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72. Cha Tiger di: Ta bon.
Cha Tiger said: be-PRES good
Cha Tiger said: Okay.

73. Shi Maria a pone un kusinchi
Shi Maria PERF put a pillow
Shi Maria put a pillow

riba Cha Tiger su lomba.
upon Cha Tiger his back
on Cha Tiger's back.

74. Ku masha difikultat Nanzi a subi para
With a lot difficulty Nanzi PERF climb stay
With great difficulty Nanzi climbed

riba un banki.
upon a bench
on a bench

75. El a pasa man tene Cha Tiger su oreanan,
3SG PERF pass hand hold Cha Tiger 3SG-POSS ear-PLU
He gripped Cha Tiger's ears with his hands.

kaba el a laga su kurpa slep baha riba lomba di Cha Tiger.
finally 3SG PERF let his body slip lower upon back of Cha Tiger
finally he let his body slide onto Cha Tiger's back.

76. Nanzi a keda ku su kabes drumí riba garganta di Cha Tiger
Nanzi PERF stay with 3SG-POSS head sleap upon neck of Cha Tiger
Nanzi stayed asleep with his head on Cha Tiger's neck

i e di:
and 3SG say:
and he said:

77. Asina mi kurpa lo sakudí muchu
Thus 1SG POSS body FUT shake a lot
Like this my body will shake a lot

i lo mi mester keda tene na bo oreanan.
and FUT 1SG must stay hold on your ear-PLU
and I will have to hold you by your ears.

78. Mihó pasa un kabuya den bo boka, ya mi tin un kaminda di tene.
Better pass a string in 2SG-POSS mouth, now I have where to hold
Better I put a cord in your mouth, so that I have something to hold onto.

79. Cha Tiger a gruña ku ta bon.
Cha Tiger PERF growl that be-PRES good
Cha Tiger growled that it was okay.

80. Mientras Nanzi tabata suspirá
While Nanzi IMP sigh
While Nanzi sighed

i keha, Shi Maria a pasa un kabuya den boka di Cha Tiger.
and complain Shi Maria PERF pass a string in the mouth of Cha Tiger
and complained, Shi Maria placed a string through Cha Tiger's mouth.

81. Nanzi a kue e kabuya tene i el a bisa Cha Tiger:
Nanzi PERF grab the string hold and 3SG PERF say Cha Tiger:
Nanzi grabbed the string and said to Cha Tiger:

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Ban numa, pero poko poko.
Go then but slow slow
Go then but very slowly.

82. Cha Tiger a kuminsá kana
Cha Tiger PERF begin
Cha Tiger himself began

masha poko poko mes.
walk very slowly himself
to walk very slowly.

83. Ora nan a yega den mondi
When 3PL PERF arrive in the forest
When they arrived in the forest

Nanzi di: Ai, asta e muskitanan ta molestiá mi.
Nanzi say: Oh, even the mosquito-PLU PRES bother 1SG.
Nanzi said: Oh, even the mosquitos are bothering me.

84. Nan ta weta ku mi no tin hopi dia di bida mas.
3PL PRES see that 1SG not have a lot day of life more
They see that I don't have many days of life left.

85. Cha Tiger, laga mi kita un rama pa mi shi nan
Cha Tiger, let 1SG take away a branch so that 1SG chase 3PL
Cha Tiger, let me take a branch so that I can chase them

for di mi kurpa.
from 1SG-POSS body
away from my body.

86. Cha Tiger a keda para, Nanzi a ranka
Cha Tiger PERF stay stop-PP Nanzi PERF tear off
Cha Tiger stopped, Nanzi teared a branch off

un rama i Cha Tiger a sigui kana.
a branch and Cha Tiger PERF continue walk
and Cha Tiger continued to walk.

87. Kada bia ku Nanzi
Every time that Nanzi
Every time that Nanzi

zuai e rama, e tabata keha manera ta mashá doló
wave the branch 3SG IMP complain like FOC a lot pain
waved the branch, he complained as if

e tabata sinti.
3SG IMP feel
he felt a lot of pain.

88. Porfin nan a sali for di mondi.
Finally 3PL PERF leave out of the forest
Finally they left the forest.

89. Un kantidat di hende tabata pará kantu di kaminda
A large group of people IMP stop-PP side of the road
A large group of people was standing on the side of the road.

90 Nanzi a lanta sinta, zuai e rama i dal Cha Tiger asina duru
Nanzi PERF rise sit wave the branch and give Cha Tiger thus hard
Nanzi stood up, waved the branch and hit Cha Tiger so hard

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kuné ku Cha Tiger a spanta, saka un kareda te seka Shon Arei.
with 3SG that Cha Tiger PERF frightened take out a race until close Shon Arei
with it that Cha Tiger got frightened and ran till he was at Shon Arei's house.

91. Lenga afó el a keda para dilanti di Shon Arei.
Tongue outside 3SG PERF stay stand before Shon Arei.
With his tongue out of his mouth he stood before Shon Arei.

92. E ora ei Kompa Nanzi a grita: Shon Arei a weta, Cha Tiger
And then Kompa Nanzi PERF scream: Shon Arei PERF see, Cha Tiger
And then Kompa Nanzi screamed: Shon Arei has seen, Cha Tiger

no ta mas ku mi buriku.
not be-PRES more than 1SGPOSS donkey
nothing more than my donkey.

93. Tur hende a kuminsa grita:
All people PERF begin shout:
Everybody started shouting:

Biba Nanzi, biba Nanzi!
Long live Nanzi, long live Nanzi
Long live Nanzi, long live Nanzi!

94 Cha Tiger a haña masha bèrgwensa ora el a ripara
Cha Tiger PERF find a lot shame when 3SG PERF notice
Cha Tiger was very ashamed when he realized

kon Nanzi a nèk e.
how Nanzi PERF trick 3SG
how Nanzi had tricked him

95. El a kore limpi bai, te den mondi.
3SG PERF run clean go, until the forest
He ran to the forest.

96. Ei el a keda te dia di awe.
There 3SG PERF stay until day of today
There he stayed until the present day.

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APPENDIX B

NANZI STORY 17

Word-by-word translation of the Papiamentu text with free translation into English.

1. Un atardi Nanzi a sali for di mondi, kaminda el a bai buska
One afternoon Nanzi PERF leave out of the forest, where 3SG PERF go look for
One afternoon Nanzi came out of the forest, where he went looking for something to

algu di kome. 2. Di ripiente el a mira Cha Tiger ta bini den
something to eat Suddenly 3SG PERF see Cha Tiger PRES come in
to eat. Suddenly he saw Cha Tiger come in his direction.

su direkshon. 3. Cha Tiger tabatin hamber, pasobra basta dia kaba
3SG-POSS direction Cha Tiger have IMP hunger, because enough day already
Cha Tiger was hungry, because for several days he had not

e no a logra haña pida karni. 4. Baba tabata basha for di su
3SG not PERF succeed find piece meat Saliva IMP pour from 3SG-POSS .
succeeded in finding a piece of meat. Saliva was running out of his mouth.

boka. 5. Nanzi su kurason por a para ora el a mira
mouth Nanzi 3SG-POSS heart be able PERF stop when 3SG PERF see
Nanzi's heart nearly stopped when he saw Cha Tiger licking

Cha Tiger ta lembe boka asina. 6. Mesora a pasa den su sinti
Cha Tiger PRES lick mouth thus Immediately PERF pass in 3SG-POSS mind
his mouth like that. Immediately went through his mind that he

ku ta un triki so po skap' é. 7. Nanzi a saka un kareda, kore
that FOC a trick only can escape 3SG Nanzi PERF take out a race, run
could only escape him with a trick. Nanzi started to run, he ran to an old

bai na un renbak bieu ku tabatin den kunuku, pone man n'e i kuminsá
go to a water old which there was in the field, put hand in 3-SG and begin
water tank which was in the field, grabbed it and began to shout:

grita: Cha Tiger, Cha Tiger, bini, bin yuda mi! 8. Renbak ta kai. Ai, ai,
shout: Cha Tiger, Cha Tiger, come, come help 1SG Water tank PRES fall. Oh,oh,
Cha Tiger, Cha Tiger, come and help me! The water tank is falling.Oh,oh,

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ai! 9. Cha Tiger a kore yega i puntra: Ta kiko ta pasando?
oh Cha Tiger PERF run arrive and ask : FOC what PRES happening
oh. Cha Tiger came running and asked : What is happening?

10. Nanzi, ku ansha den su stem a kontestá: Bo no ta mira
Nanzi, with anguish in 3SG-POSS voice PERF answer: 2SG not PRES look
Nanzi answered with anguish in his voice: Don't you see that this water tank

ku e renbak aki ta bai kai? 11. Ten' é lihé. 12. Cha Tiger a dal
that the water tank here PRES go fall Hold 3SG fast. Cha Tiger PERF hit
is going to fall? Quickly hold it. Cha Tiger stretched

man wanta e renbak. 13. Nanzi a sigui grita:
hand hold the water tank Nanzi PERF continue shout:
out his hand to hold the water tank. Nanzi continued to shout:

E renbak aki ta yen di awa. 14. Si e kibra nos tur dos
The water tank here be-PRES full of water If 3SG breaks 1PL all two
This water tank is full of water. If it breaks both of us

ta hoga miserablemente. 15. Cha Tiger su kurpa a kue rel
PRES drown miserably Cha Tiger 3SG-POSS body PERF catch tremble
are drowning miserably Cha Tiger's body began to tremble

ora el a tende e kos ei, pasobra e tabatin masha miedu di awa.
when 3SG PERF hear the thing there, because 3SG have-IMP a lot fear of water.
when he heard that, because he was very afraid of water.

16. El a sklama: Mi no ke muri morto hogá. 17. Kompa Nanzi di:.
3SG PERF yell: 1SG not want die dead drowned Kompa Nanzi say:
He yelled: I don't want to die from drowning. Kompa Nanzi said:

Wèl, sigui wanta e renbak duru. 18. Tòg bo tin masha hopi forsa.
Wèl, continue hold the water tank tight. Still 2SG have very a lot strenght.
Well, keep holding the water tank tightly. You still have a lot of strenght.

19. Cha Tiger a primi su kurpa kontra e renbak mientras e
Cha Tiger PERF press 3SG-POSS body against the water tank while 3SG
Cha Tiger pressed his body against the water tank while

tabata yora: Ta kon nos ta hasi Nanzi? 20. Nanzi di:
IMP cry: FOC how 1PL PRES do Nanzi Nanzi say:
he cried: How are we going to do this Nanzi? Nanzi said:

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Si bo keda anta e renbak bon asina, mi ta kore bai buska
If 2SG remain hold the water tank well thus, 1SG PRES run go look for
If you keep holding the water tank tight like that, I will run and look for

un mèsla pa bin drech'é. *21. Morto di miedu Cha Tiger a bisa Nanzi:*
a bricklayer to come fix 3SG Dead from fear Cha Tiger PERF say Nanzi:
a bricklayer to come and fix it. Deadly afraid Cha Tiger said to Nanzi:

Bai lihé Nanzi, kore mas duru ku bo por, mi ta sigui wanta.
Go fast Nanzi, run more hard than 2SG can, 1SG PRES continue hold tank
Go fast Nanzi, run as hard as you can,I will go on holding the water tank.

e renbak *22. Nanzi a dirti bai.* *23. Den un fregá di wowo*
the water tank Nanzi PERF disappear go In a blink of the eye
Nanzi disappeared. In an instant

el a yega kas seka Shi Maria. *24. Nan a hari,*
3SG PERF arrive house at Shi Maria 3PL PERF laugh
he arrived at Shi Maria's house. They laughed

pasa masha prèt riba kustia di Cha Tiger.
spend a lot fun on haunch of Cha Tiger
and had a lot of fun at Cha Tiger's expense.

25. Cha Tiger mes a keda wanta renbak te dia di awe.
Cha Tiger himself PERF remain hold water tank until day of today
Cha Tiger himself has held the water tank until the present day.

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APPENDIX C

HALLIDAY'S PROCESSES IN "KOMPA NANZI I CHA TIGER"

Papiamentu text: in italics.

Trans.=transitive; Intr.= intransitive; Main Part.=main participant

N=Nanzi; CT=Cha Tiger; P=People; SM=Shi Maria; SA=Shon Arei.

Episode 1 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
1. *CT no tabata biba den mondi*	Relational		+	CT
(CT did not live in the woods)				
sino kaminda hende tabata biba	Relational		+	CT
(but [CT] lived among the people				
2. *tur hende tabatin masha miedu di dje*	Mental	+		P
(all the people feared him a lot)				
3. *Apenas nan weta CT*	Mental	+		P
(as soon as they saw CT)				
nan a hui (they fled).	Material		+	P

Episode 2 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
4. ... *tabatin un grupo di hende sintá*	Existential		+	P
(there was a group of people sitting)				
5. *E kombersashon tabata bai riba CT*	Relational		+	kombersashon
(the conversation went about)				
6. *Un di nan di* (one of them said):	Verbal	+		P
Boso sa no (you know, don't you)	Mental	+		boso=you=P
E kompai ei tin masha forsa (that	Relational	+		e kompai ei=CT
compader has a lot of strenght				
Mi no ta konfi 'é (I don't trust him)	Mental	+		Mi=P (one of)
7. *E mester ta kome hopi mes*	Material	+		e=CT
(he must eat a lot)				

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8. *Mi tin miedu di dje* (I fear him)	Mental	+		mi=P (one of)
9. *Un di nan a kontestá* (one of them answered)	Verbal	+		un di nan=N
Ai bo ta kens (you are crazy)	Relational		+	bo=you=P
10. *Ta kiko CT por hasi* (what can CT do)	Material	+		CT
11. *Blo grita so* (he can only roar)	Verbal		+	CT
12. *Ami si no tin miedu di dje* (I don't fear him)	Mental	+		Ami=N
13. *E mester ta kome hopi* (he must eat a lot)	Material	+		e=CT
14. *Un kurpa grandi asina mester gasta hopi kos* (a big body like that must use a lot of things)	Material	+		kurpa grandi=CT
ni kana lo e no por kana (he will not be able to walk	Material		+	e=CT
15. *Mi ta pusta boso* (I bet you)	Verbal	+		mi=N
mi por sinta (I can sit)	Material		+	mi=N
meskos ku mi por sinta (as I can sit)	Material		+	mi=N
16. *Ma ta ken tabata papia asina* di CT	Verbal		+	ken=N
17. *Ta* (it is) *Nanzi*	Relational		+	N
18. *E hendenan a hari* (the people laughed)	Behavioral		+	P
te lora abou (until they rolled on the ground)	Behavioral		+	[P]
19. *Un di nan di* (one of them said):	Verbal	+		un di nan=P
CT ta supla bo plat abou (CT blows you flat on the ground)	Material	+		CT
20. *Kompa N a kontestá* (Kompa N answered)	Verbal	+		N
No ta ko'i loko mi ta papia (I am not saying something crazy	Verbal	+		mi=N
21. Boso lo mira (you will see)	Mental		+	boso=P

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22. *mi ta kore* (I am riding)	Material		+	mi=N
23. *Lo e karga mi hiba* (he will bring me)	Material	+		e=CT

Episode 3 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
24. ...*SA tabata sa tur kos*	Mental	+		SA
(SA knew everything)				
25. *E tabata kurioso* (he was curious)	Relational		+	e=SA
pa sa (to know)	Mental	+		[SA]
si N tabatin hopi kurashi (if N had	Relational	+		N
a lot of courage)				
26. *tabatin hopi hende* (there were	Existential		+	P
a lot of people)				
ansioso pa mira (curious to see)	Mental	+		P
kiko ta bai pasa	Existential	+	kiko=what	
(what was going to happen)				
27. *CT mes a blo* (CT appeared suddenly)	Material		+	CT
28. *Un di e hendenan a tuma kurashi*	Mental	+		P (one of)
(one of the people took the courage)				
kumind'é (to greet him)	Verbal	+		P(one of)
29. *CT a gruña so*: *Grun, grun*	Verbal	+		CT
(CT growled only: grr., grr.)				
30. *CT, tende un kos aki* (CT, hear this)	Mental	+		CT
31. *CT a gruña: Grun, grun*	Verbal	+		CT
(CT growled: grr.)				
32. *N a hasi bofon di bo*	Verbal	+		N
(N made a fool of you)				
33. *CT a keda para* (CT stopped)	Material		+	CT
pa e tende (to hear)	Mental	+		e=CT
ta kiko nan kera bis'é (what they	Verbal	+		nan=P
wanted to tell him)				

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34. *Nan a konta CT* (they told CT)	Verbal	+		nan=P
loke N a bisa (what N had said)	Verbal	+		N
35. *N di* (N said)	Verbal	+		N
ku e no tin miedu di bo	Mental	+		e=N
(that he does not fear you)				
36. *E di* (he said)	Verbal	+		e=N
ku e ta subi sinta (that he will climb)	Material		+	e=N
37. *E di* (he said)	Verbal	+		e=N
ku bo no tin forsa	Relational	+		bo=CT
(that you don't have strenght)				
manera nos ta kere (as we believe)	Mental		+	nos=P
38. *CT a rabia* (CT became angry)	Mental		+	CT
i [CT] grita ([CT] screamed)	Verbal	+		CT
mi ta bai p'e (I am going to get him)	Material		+	mi=CT

Episode 4 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
39. *CT a tumba pa kas di Nanzi*	Material		+	CT
(went to N's house)				
40. *CT tabata grita* (CT was roaring	Verbal	+		CT
41. *Tur hende a kore drenta kas*	Material		+	P
(all the people ran into their house)				
i bai lur (and watched)	Mental	+		[P]
kiko ta pasa (what happened)	Existential		+	kiko=what
42. *Kaya a keda pa CT so*	Relational		+	kaya=street
(the street remained for CT alone).				
43. *N a tende e gritamentu di CT*	Mental	+		N
(N heard CT's roaring)				
ku tabata yega mas seka (who came closer)	Material		+	ku=CT
44. *El a spanta bira blek*	Behavioral		+	el=N
(he turned pale from fright)				

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45. *Su djentenan tabata bati kontra otro*	Behavioral		+	referent: N
(his teeth were chattering)				
ora hende tin kalafriu	Behavioral	+		P
(when people have fever)				
46. *Sodó tabata basha* (sweat was pouring)	Behavioral		+	referent: N
47. *SM no a haña chèns* (SM did not	Mental	+		SM
find a chance)				
di puntra N nada (to ask N anything)	Verbal	+		SM
... *CT a bati riba porta* (CT knocked)	Material		+	CT
manera ta basha e kera basha e porta	Material	+		e=CT
abou (as if he wanted to tear the door down)				
48. *SM a bai* (SM went)	Material		+	SM
habri porta (to open the door)	Material	+		SM
49. *CT a pusha SM* (CT pushed SM)	Material	+		CT
i kana drenta (entered)	Material		+	CT

Episode 5 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
50. *el a weta N* (he saw N)	Mental	+		el=N
drumi (sleep)	Behavioral		+	N
ta tembla (tremble)	Behavioral		+	N
51. ...*N di* (N said)	Verbal	+		N
Kon ta CT? (how are you cT?)	Relational		+	CT
52. *CT a gruña: Grun, grun!* (CT growled: grr.)	Verbal	+		CT
53. *Nan a laga sa* (they let know)	Verbal	+		nan=P
ku bo a bofon di mi	Verbal	+		bo=N
(that you made a fool of me)				
i awor mi a bin (now I have come)	Material		+	mi=CT
tende (to hear)	Mental	+		CT
si ta bèrdè (if it is true)	Relational		+	[it]
54. *N a lanta sinta* (sat up)	Material		+	N

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i e di (and he said)	Verbal	+		N
55. *ami aki papia malu di bo?*	Verbal		+	N
(I am talking bad about you?)				
56. *Ta kon hende bibu por ta malu asina*	Relational		+	P
(how can people be so bad?				
57. *Mundu ta pèrdi* (the world is lost)	Relational	+	mundu=world	
58. *Bo no ta mira* (can't you see)	Mental	+		bo=CT
Kon malu mi ta aki? (how sick I am?)	Relational		+	mi=N
59. *N a warda un poko* (N waited a little)	Material		+	N
ku no por hala rosea (who cannot breath)	Behavioral		+	N
el a sigui papia (he continued to speak)	Verbal	+		N
60. *SM kera hiba mi* (SM wants to bring me)	Material	+		SM
mi no tin sèn (I have no money)	Relational	+		mi=N
pa kumpra yerba (to buy herbs)	Material	+		N
61. *un hende sabí por weta mi*	Material			a wise man
i kura mi (and cure me)				
62. *mi no por papia mas*	Verbal		+	mi=N
(I cannot talk anymore)				
63. *N a kai riba su barika*	Material		+	N
(N fell on his stomach)				
el a keha: Ami tata di...	Verbal	+		el=N
(he complained: Me father of...)				
64. *CT a spanta* (CT got frightened)	Mental		+	CT
65. *El a pensa*(he thought)	Mental	+		el=CT
N ta malu (N is sick)	Relational		+	N
66. Dios sa (God knows)	Mental	+		Dios
no ta muri e ta bai muri	Behavioral		+	e=N
(he is not going to die)				
67. *N a bolbe kuminsá papia*	Verbal	+		N
(N began to speak again)				

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CT abo tin forsa (CT you have strength)	Relational	+		CT
68. *Bo no por hiba mi* (can't you bring me)	Material			bo=CT
69. *CT a haña duele di N* (CT felt pity for N)	Mental	+		CT
i di (and said)	Verbal	+		CT
Subi riba mi lomba (climb on my back)	Material		+	N
70. *N di* (N said)	Verbal	+		N
Mi no por (I cannot [climb])	Material		+	mi=N
Henter mi kurpa ta hasi due (my whole body hurts)	Mental		+	referent=N
71. *Laga SM pone un kusinchi* (let SM put)	Material	+		SM
72. *CT di* (CT said):	Verbal	+		CT
Ta bon (it is okay)	Relational		+	[it]
73. *SM a pone un kusinchi* (SM put a pillow)	Material	+		SM
74. *N a subi para* (N climbed)	Material		+	N
75. *El a pasa man tene CT su oreanan* (he gripped CT's ears with his hands)	Material	+		el=N
el a laga su kurpa slep (he let his body slide)	Material	+		el=N
76. *N a keda.. drumi* (N stayed asleep)	Behavioral		+	N
i e di (and he said)	Verbal	+		N
77. *mi kurpa lo sakudi* (my body will shake)	Behavioral		+	referent:N
i lo mi mester keda tene na bo oreanan (I will have to hold by your ears)	Material		+	mi=N
78. *Mihó [mi] pasa un kabuya den bo boka* (better [I] put a cord in your mouth	Material	+		N
Ya mi tin (I have) *un kaminda* (where)	Relational	+		m=N
di tene (to hold)	Material	+		[N]
79. *CT a gruña* (CT growled)	Verbal	+		CT
ku ta bon (that is okay)	Relational		+	[it]
80. *N tabata suspirá* (N sighed)	Behavioral		+	N

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i keha (and complained)	Verbal		+	N
81. *SM a pasa un kabuya* (SM put a cord)	Material	+		SM
82. *N a kue e kabuya tene* (N grabbed the cord)	Material	+		N
i el a bisa CT (and he told CT)	Verbal	+		el=N
Ban (go)	Material		+	CT
CT a kuminsá kana (CT began to walk)	Material		+	CT

Episode 6 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
83. *Ora nan a yega* (when they arrived)	Material		+	nan=N and
	Material		+	CT
N di (N said)	Verbal	+		N
e muskitanan ta molestiá mi	Material	+		muskitanan
(the mosquitoes bother me)				
84. *Nan ta weta* (they know)	Mental	+		nan=muskitanan
ku mi no tin hopi dia di bida mas	Relational	+		mi=N
(that I don't have many days of life left)				
85. *CT, laga mi kita un rama*	Material	+		mi=N
(let me take a branch)				
pa mi shi nan (so that I can chase them)	Material	+		mi=N
86. *CT a keda para* (CT stopped)	Material		+	CT
N a ranka un rama (N teared off a branch)	Material	+		N
i CT a sigui kana (CT continued to walk)	Material		+	CT
87. *N zuai e rama* (N waved the branch)	Material	+		N
e tabata keha (he complained)	Verbal		+	N
manera ta mashá doló e tabata sinti	Mental	+		N
(as if he felt a lot of pain)				

Episode 7 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
88. *nan a sali di mondi* (they left the forest)	Material		+	nan=N and
	Material		+	CT

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89. *Un kandidat di hende tabata pará*	Relational		+	P
kantu di kaminda (a lot of people				
were standing at the side of the road)				
90. *N a lanta sinta* (N stood up)	Material		+	N
zuai e rama (waved the branch)	Material	+		N
i dal CT (hit CT)	Material	+		N
ku CT a spanta (that CT got frightened)	Mental		+	CT
saka un kareda (ran)	Material		+	[CT]
91. *El a keda para* (he stood)	Material		+	el=CT

Episode 8 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
92. *Kompa N a grita* (N screamed)	Verbal	+		N
SA a weta (has seen)	Mental	+		SA
CT no ta mas ku mi buriku	Relational		+	CT
(CT is nothing more than my donkey)				
93. *Tur hende a kuminsa grita*	Verbal	+		P
(everybody began to shout)				
Biba N, biba N. (Long live N)	Behavioral		+	N

Episode 9 (Sentence nrs.)	Process	Trans.	Intr.	Main Part.
94. CT a haña mashá bergwensa	Mental	+	+	CT
(CT was very ashamed)				
ora el a ripará (when he realized)	Mental	+		el=CT
kon N a nèk e (how N had tricked him)	Material			N
95. *El a kore limpi bai...* (he ran)	Material		+	el=CT
96. *Ei el a keda* (he stayed)	Relational		+	el=CT

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VITA

Joke Maaten Mondada was born on June 23, 1944, in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. In 1962 she finished high school, where she acquired knowledge of French, English, German, Latin and Ancient Greek. After high school, she worked as a secretary in the Consulate-General of Switzerland in Rotterdam. In 1974 she married a Swiss diplomat and has since lived in Argentina (where she learned Spanish), Uruguay, Kuwait, Mexico, France, Brazil, Angola, Sudan and Bangladesh. In 1990, Joke obtained a bachelor degree in Spanish (*magna cum laude*). During her undergraduate studies, she obtained several awards and became member of the honor society Phi Kappa Phi. While studying to obtain her master of arts degree, Joke obtained knowledge of Papiamentu, and Portuguese; she taught Spanish as a Graduate Assistant at the University of New Orleans for three semesters and she has been teaching Spanish as a volunteer for a period of four years. In 1994 Joke obtained a master degree in Romance languages (emphasis on Spanish). Her master thesis is titled: A Linguistic Study of Dutch Influences on the Papiamentu Lexicon. In 1992, 1994, and 1996 Joke presented papers related to Papiamentu and Dutch, and the narrative structure of the Nanzi stories, which are spider stories in Papiamentu at conferences in Cancun, Shreveport and Baton Rouge, respectively. Her book notice "El Papiamento, lengua criolla hispánica" (by Dan Muteanu) was published in Language (December 1998). In October of 1999, Joke presented the paper "Characters in the Narrative 'Kompa Nanzi i Cha Tiger': a Hallidayan Perspective," at the LASSO conference in San Antonio, for which she received the Helmut Esau Award (best student paper presented at the conference).

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She is currently a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which will be conferred in May 2000.

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DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Joke Maaten Mondada

Major Field: Linguistics

Title of Dissertation: Narrative Structure and Characters in the Nanzi Stories of Curaçao: A Discourse Analysis

Approved:

M. Jill Brody
Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

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Date of Examination:

March 16, 2000

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